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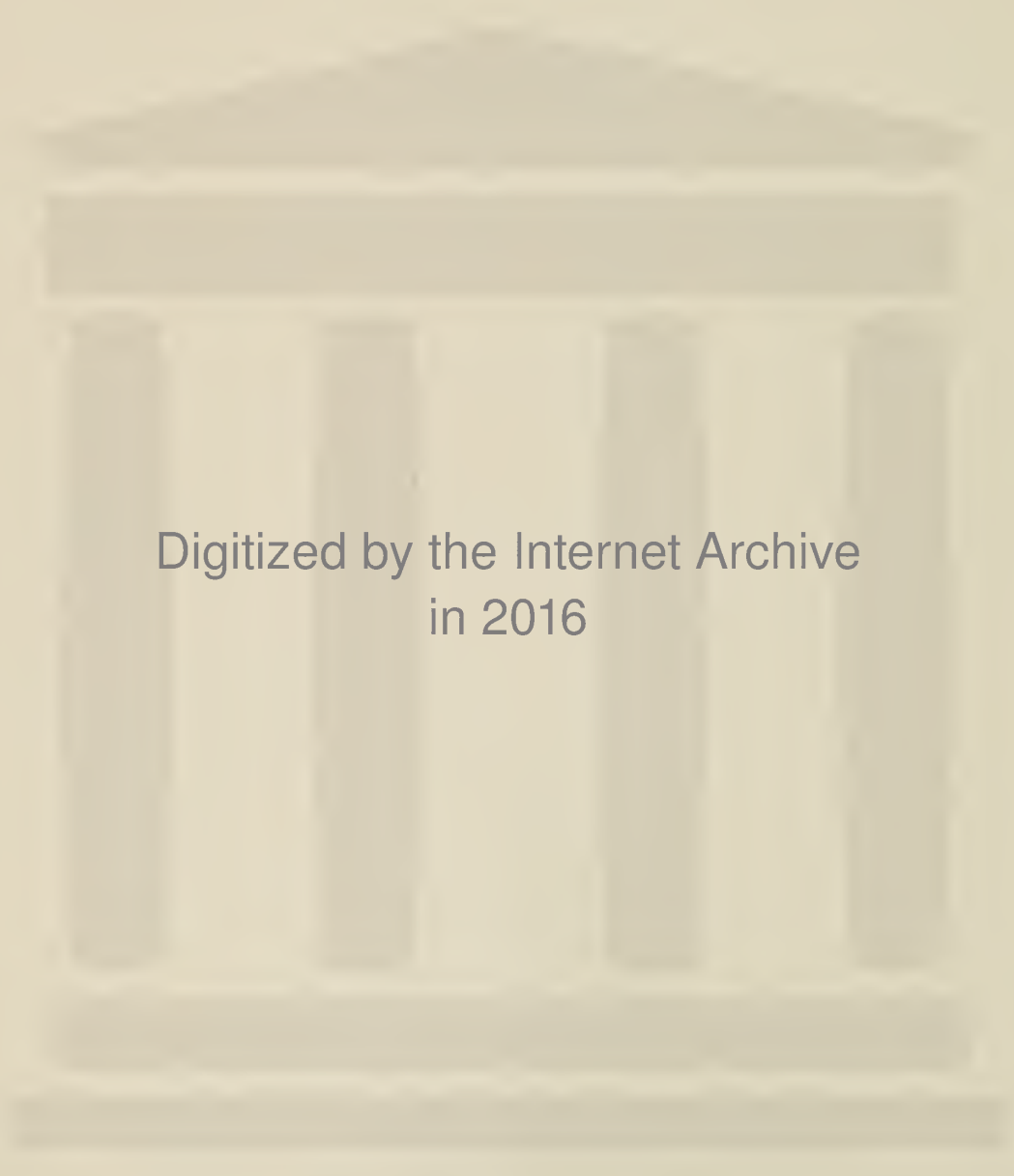
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Publications
of
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
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TRANSACTIONS
1947 - 1951

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Editor of Publications

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1897-1947

*Editor of Publications of the
Colonial Society of Massachusetts*

1932-1946

PUBLICATIONS
of
The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XXXVIII



TRANSACTIONS

1947-1951



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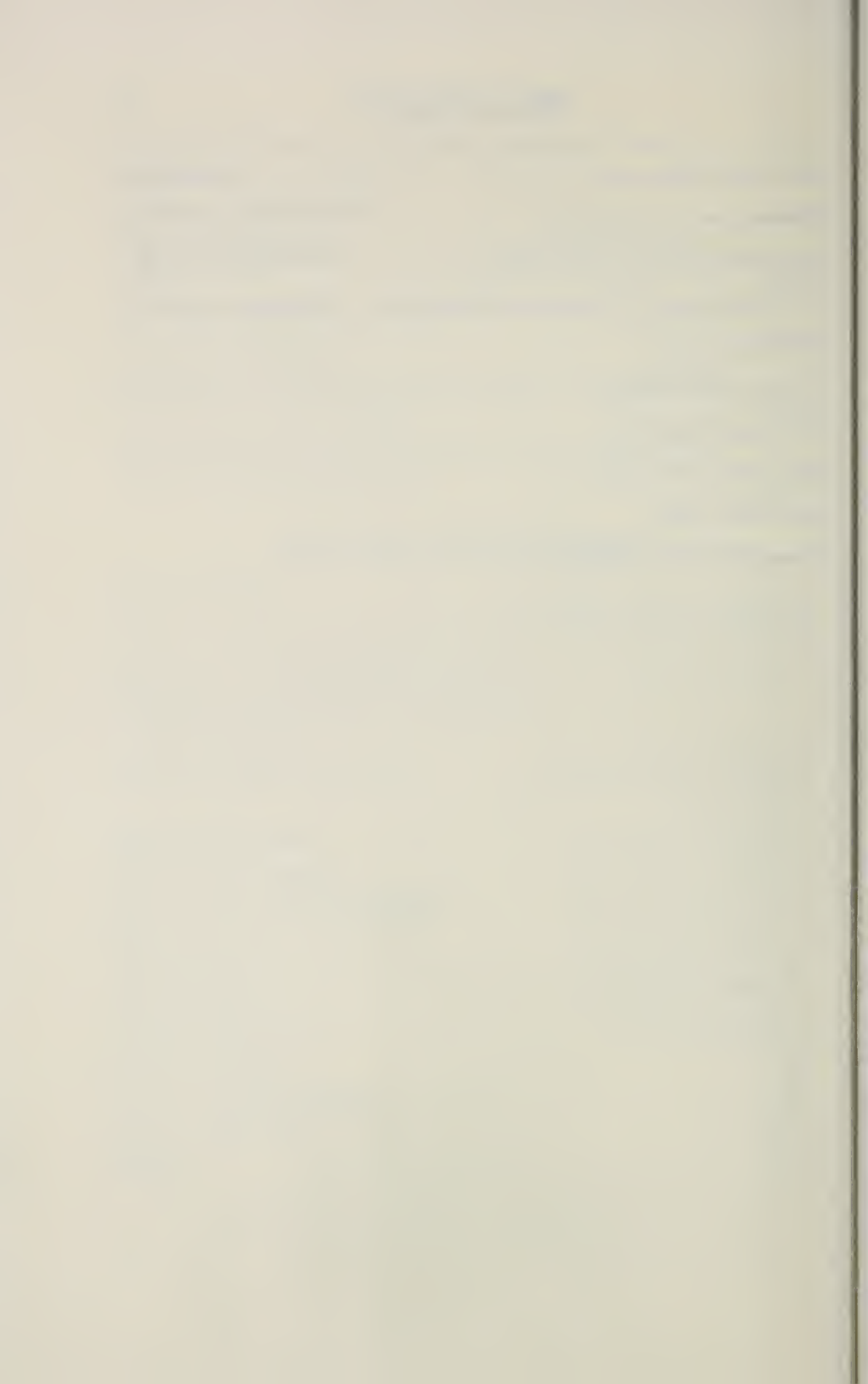
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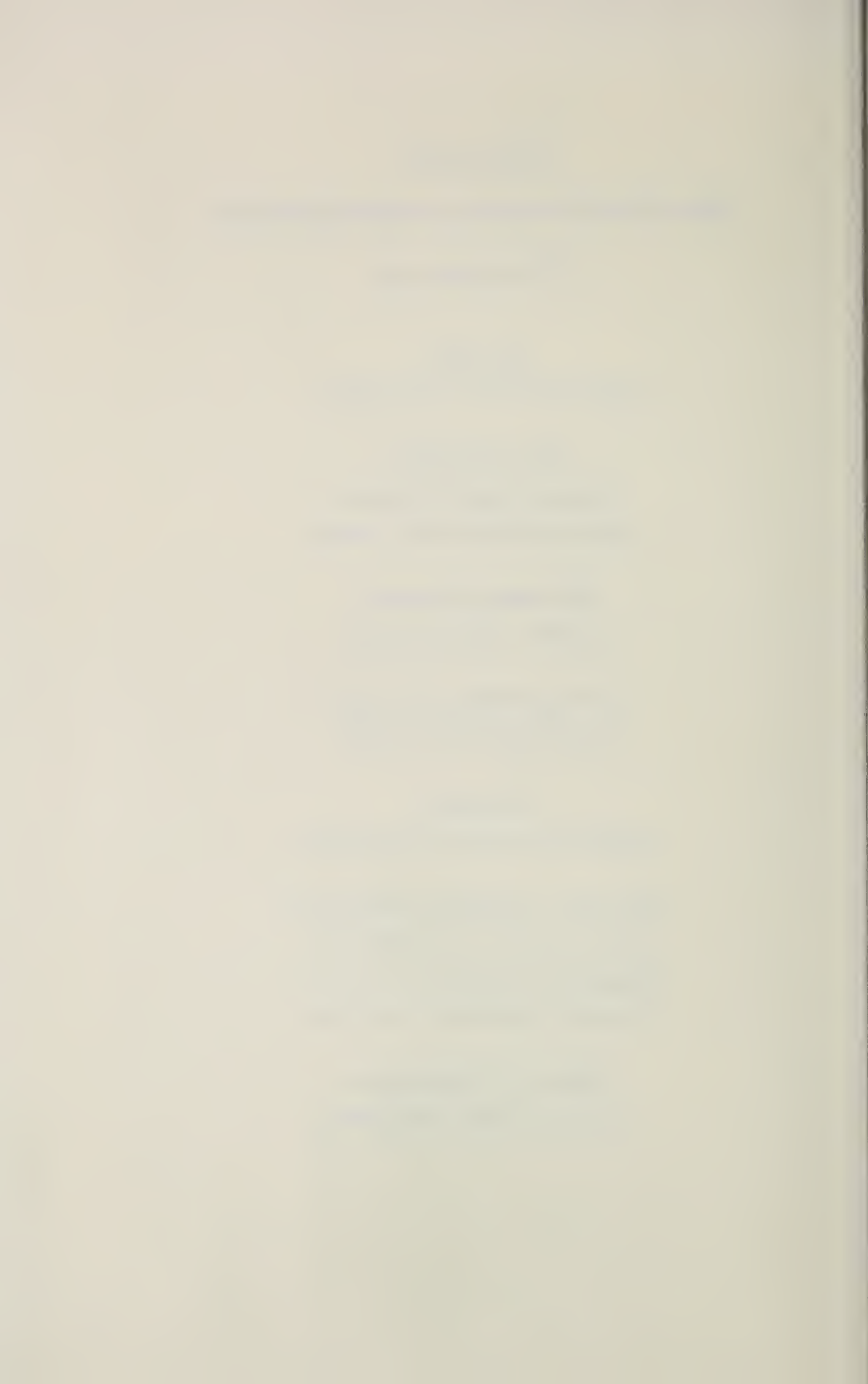
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1935

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xiii

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1956

EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON

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Members who have died since the publication of the preceding volume of Transactions, with date of death

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GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS	2 March	1951
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WINTHROP HOWLAND WADE	26 January	1952
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP	23 June	1952
REGINALD FITZ	27 May	1953
JULIAN LOWELL COOLIDGE	5 March	1954
JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL	21 March	1954
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER	5 October	1954
JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS	19 October	1954
ROGER ERNST	1 April	1955
WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL	20 May	1955
ALLAN FORBES	9 July	1955
STEPHEN WILLARD PHILLIPS	6 July	1955
JOHN PEABODY MONKS	3 March	1956
ROBERT WALCOTT	11 November	1956
ROBERT DICKSON WESTON	30 November	1956
LLEWELLYN HOWLAND	5 January	1957
JOSEPH BREED BERRY	28 January	1957
ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.	8 February	1957
WILLIAM EMERSON	4 May	1957
ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWES	23 May	1957

Members Deceased

WILFRED JAMES DOYLE	18 June	1957
STEWART MITCHELL	3 November	1957
PAUL WHITMAN ETTER	23 May	1958
LAURENCE BROWN FLETCHER	30 June	1958

Honorary

DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN	13 June	1953
ALICE BACHE GOULD	25 July	1953
FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR	22 November	1957

Corresponding

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ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT	5 February	1951
WILLIAM GWINN MATHER	5 April	1951
RICHARD CLIPSTON STURGIS	8 May	1951
REGINALD COUPLAND	6 November	1952
FREDERIC ADRIAN DELANO	28 March	1953
JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS	7 May	1953
KENNETH CHARLES MORTON SILLS	15 November	1954
HERBERT PUTNAM	14 August	1955
EARL MORSE WILBUR	8 January	1956
STANLEY THOMAS WILLIAMS	2 February	1956
FOSTER STEARNS	4 June	1956
JOSEPH BURR TYRELL	27 August	1957

Non-Resident

WARNER FOOTE GOOKIN	2 March	1953
WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER	29 May	1953

Transactions
1947-1951

Transactions of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts



February Meeting, 1947

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, at No. 44 Brimmer Street, Boston, on Thursday, 20 February 1947, at a quarter after three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the death on 21 January 1947 of ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, a Resident Member, and that on 3 February 1947 of WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, a Resident Member.

Mr. KENNETH JOHN CONANT then read a paper entitled "The Newport Tower."

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Mr. LOUIS DOW SCISCO:

Sir Christopher Gardyner

FOR three hundred years romance and mystery have surrounded the personality of Sir Christopher Gardyner, so-called Knight of the Golden Melice and early sojourner at Massachusetts Bay in the days of the Puritans. Where the wilderness touched the sea he reared his cabin home, ensconced therein a comely consort from Old England, and tried to cultivate the friendship of his colonist neighbors. But those neighbors, being mostly serious-minded Puritan persons, made no pretense of liking Sir Christopher or his ways. Despite his assertion of social quality he was courteously but firmly ushered out of the country, leaving in local records no clear reference to his identity.

So, for three centuries students of colonial history have wondered who

he was and whither he went after he left New England. The aura of romance that lay about him led Longfellow to write a pleasant poem on Sir Christopher and his lady fair. Some writers of fiction have made him a character in their tales. In a more serious way the scholarly Charles Francis Adams wrote a historical treatise about his brief stay in New England, but failed to reveal his identity otherwise.

Thanks to the accumulation of printed historical material in England in the last few decades, historical research into the identity of mysterious English gentlemen is not so difficult as it was in former times. Governor John Winthrop, writing about Sir Christopher in 1631, said "I never intended any hard measure to him, but to respect and use him according to his quality." Winthrop knew him to be a man of social standing and possible influence. Evidence now reveals that Sir Christopher was a member of a respected family of English gentry in Surrey, that he was a nephew of Sir Thomas Gardyner, a friend of the royal family, and that he was a brother-in-law of Sir John Heydon, trusted official of King Charles, holding the position of lieutenant of ordnance. All of which was good reason for the Puritan magistrates to avoid meting out any "hard measure" toward him.

The ancestry of Sir Christopher is revealed by the visitation pedigrees of the heralds, three of which show his position in the family.¹ The founder of the family, as shown by the pedigrees, was one William Gardyner, who removed from Hertfordshire somewhere around 1540 and established himself on the Surrey side of the Thames, in the Southwark area of modern London. King Henry had then sequestered the lands of Bermondsey Abbey. The abbot's farm, called Bermondsey Grange, was granted to the Earl of Salisbury, and he in turn transferred it by some form of long-term lease to William Gardyner. In the published records William emerges from obscurity in 1542, when he is mentioned casually in a royal grant of abbey land as being abutting owner.² The Bermondsey parish register records the burial in June of 1549 of William, described as "farmer of Bermondsey Grange."³ A son, also named William, then inherited the family property. When Sir Christopher was in New England he boasted that he was of the same family stock as Stephen Gardiner,

¹ The earliest pedigree, apparently made about 1598, is in the first volume of the Harleian Society. The second, of 1623, is in *Surrey Archæological Collections*, XI. The third, of 1624 or 1625, is in the forty-third volume of the Harleian Society.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII*, XVII. 167.

³ *The Registers of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey* [supplement to *The Genealogist*, New Series, VI], 3.

formerly bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of the realm.⁴ His assertion is believable. The bishop was contemporary with William of Surrey, and was a native of Suffolk, not so far from Hertfordshire as to make relationship unlikely.

The second William of the family line was somewhat of a public figure in his county. In 1569 he appeared as arquebus man at the militia muster.⁵ In that same year he was collector of assessments for the drainage commission of Surrey and Kent, resigning because the farmers with whom he had to deal were largely his own tenants.⁶ Later, in 1574, he was made disbursing officer for the commission. On this occasion he is described as "William Gardner, gentleman," which shows that he had acquired armorial bearings and ranked with the country gentry.⁷ The arms thus obtained were "Azure, a griffin passant, or."⁸ In 1588 he subscribed £50 for defense against the Spanish armada.⁹ He may have been the member of parliament of that name chosen in 1588 and in 1592. In 1592 the privy council put him on a commission to suppress disorders in Southwark,¹ and in 1594 he was criticized for not doing well thereat.² Meanwhile he was assessor of subsidies in 1593 and 1594.³ About this time he bought property at Dorking. The parish register notices his burial in December, 1597,⁴ and his will is recorded, describing him as of Bermondsey and Dorking.⁵ Of his four sons, the eldest died just before his father. Two other sons became local notables known as Sir Thomas of Peckham and Sir William of Lagham.

Third in the family line was Christopher Gardyner, eldest son of the second William, and father of Sir Christopher. His birth was about January, 1563, but his baptism does not appear in the Bermondsey parish records. Of his personality there is hardly a trace. In 1581 he is recorded as

⁴ *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation*, William T. Davis, Editor (New York, 1908), 286.

⁵ Surrey Record Society, *Surrey Musters*, 147.

⁶ Court Minutes of Sewer Commissioners, I. 240.

⁷ *Id.*, I. 193. ⁸ Harleian Society, I. 87.

⁹ A. Ridley Bax, "Surrey and the Spanish Armada," *Surrey Archæological Collections*, XVI. 249-250.

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, New Series, XXII (London, 1901), 551. *Id.*, XXIII. 19.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth*, 1591-1594, 464.

³ A. Ridley Bax, "The Lay Subsidy Assessments for the County of Surrey," *Surrey Archæological Collections*, XVIII. 165, 187, 188.

⁴ *The Registers of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey* [supplement to *The Genealogist*, New Series, VIII], 166. ⁵ *Index Society Publications*, XXV. 166.

a youthful law student at the Inner Temple,⁶ and then he disappears from view for some years. In June of 1594 he reappears as a bridegroom. The bride was Judith Sackville, daughter of a good Sussex family.⁷ He now became a resident at Dorking,⁸ where his father owned the estate called Sondes Place. However, when their first child came, a daughter named Frances, they seem to have been in London, for their girl was baptized there.⁹ Their second child was a boy, named after his father. Christopher himself died in 1596 according to the visitation pedigree. As his father William outlived him by a few months, Christopher never possessed the family estates. His widow married again later and had a daughter known in the records as Mary Phillips.

The younger Christopher Gardyner was born probably in 1596. Both date and place are uncertain, as the Dorking parish register has no mention of his arrival. Of his boyhood there is no direct information. Apparently the widow kept Sondes Place and brought up her children there, for young Christopher was his grandfather's heir and it is known that Sondes Place remained with the Gardyner family for many years. The first definite glimpse of young Christopher reveals him as beginning student life in 1613 at Cambridge University.¹ But seemingly he did not fit well with the scholastic atmosphere, for, a year later, in November, 1614, he started the study of law at the Inner Temple,² following in his father's footsteps. But even this did not hold him, and in July, 1615, the privy council minutes show that one Christopher Gardiner and his servant Alexander Darby were allowed license for three years of travel, with the usual proviso that they should not go to Rome.³

If the three-year period were observed by the travelers, they got back to England in 1618 and the matured young man was ready to assume control of his inheritance. The elder Christopher seems not to have had much money of his own, but, being an eldest son, he had been named in

⁶ A. Ridley Bax, "Members of the Inner Temple, 1547-1660," *Surrey Archæological Collections*, XIV. 22.

⁷ *The Registers of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey* [supplement to *The Genealogist*, New Series, VIII], 147.

⁸ A. Ridley Bax, "Documents Illustrative of the Heralds' Visitations," *Surrey Archæological Collections*, XXIII. 211.

⁹ *Harleian Society Registers*, v. 65.

¹ John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I, II (Cambridge, 1922), 191.

² A. Ridley Bax, "Members of the Inner Temple, 1547-1660," *Surrey Archæological Collections*, XIV. 26.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1615-1616* (London, 1925), 246.

his father's will for a double portion of the father's estate. When death claimed the elder Christopher just prior to the father's death, this legacy devolved upon the younger Christopher as grandson and heir. Sir Thomas of Peckham tells this and complains about young Christopher. He says that he had been partner of the elder Christopher in some transaction that left them £2000 in debt. Of this, £600 was the elder Christopher's obligation, which Sir Thomas had to bear, and when the younger Christopher came into his inheritance he showed no inclination whatever to repay Sir Thomas that amount.⁴

At some time about 1620 both young Christopher and his sister Frances assumed matrimonial bonds. Frances married her cousin William Gardyner, son of the peevish Sir Thomas, and the latter is irritable also about this marriage. He says that he had hoped to marry his son to some woman of property whose money could be used in making jointures for William's sisters, and as it was, William's marriage was not helpful. Sir Thomas admits that Frances brought her husband money, for she had £400 in cash and £200 in annual income, all of which William scattered to the winds, as well as an allowance of £55 a year that Sir Thomas himself gave for support of the family. Evidently William had his faults, but nevertheless he moved in high circles and in 1626 attained in some way to the honor of knighthood.

Young Christopher seems to have married more happily than did his sister. His bride was Elizabeth Onslow, daughter of Sir Edward Onslow, a resident in Surrey. The wedded pair lived at Dorking and two children came to them, a son named Onslow and a daughter Judith. Both of them are shown in the visitation pedigrees. Then, on 12 April 1624, the young mother died. A mortuary brass in her memory was set up in the Dorking church by the bereaved husband. It bore a commemorative inscription and the combined arms of Gardyner, Onslow, and Sackville.⁵ In the latest of the family pedigrees the date of the wife's death is stated and a third child is indicated by a dash,⁶ from which it may be supposed that she died in childbirth. This last child presumably is another Christopher, who appears in the records in later years.

When Gardyner in after years was in Plymouth Colony as an unwilling guest he lost a notebook which contained "a memorial what day he was reconciled to the pope and church of Rome, and in what universitie

⁴ Sir Thomas Gardyner's letter to the King, 1630, transcript in author's possession.

⁵ Mill Stephenson, "A List of Monumental Brasses in Surrey," *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxvii. 86.

⁶ *Harleian Society Publications*, xliiii. 60.

he took his scapula, and such and such degrees.”⁷ From middle 1624 to middle 1626 there is a gap in references to Christopher. Apparently these experiences might fit into this gap, assuming that he went to the continent after his wife’s death. More intriguing is the fact that about this time he became a papal knight, by reason of which he assumed a little swank with a “Sir” before his name. Governor Bradford of New Plymouth called him Knight of the Holy Sepulcher and said he acquired knighthood at Jerusalem, all which seems somewhat doubtful. Governor Winthrop seems more accurate when he calls him Knight of the Golden Melice, meaning the papal *Milizia Aurata*, an order of merit conferred at that time on Catholic laymen of minor distinction. The recipients of this honor were usually called knights of the golden spur.⁸ Just why an obscure Englishman should have obtained this distinction is not clear, unless one may suppose that Christopher was rewarded for some service done for the new king in England who succeeded to the throne in 1625.⁹ Perhaps also a clue exists in the fact that on the mortuary brass set up in Dorking church Christopher’s father-in-law is described as *equitis aurati*.¹

Gardyners is noticed in England again in 1626. Royal license of 9 June authorizes John and Henry Gage to convey to Christopher Gardyners their holding of Haling Manor at Croydon in Surrey, for which the buyer is to pay £2850. The premises were conveyed on 12 July and John Gage died on 6 December.² Presumably Gardyners then took possession. Whether Christopher’s mother was still living at Sondes Place is not in evidence. If living, she probably came to Haling Hall, for in March, 1627, Christopher’s brother-in-law William Gardyners was living at Dorking and pleading poverty as his excuse for not paying a subscription that he had formerly given.

In 1628 Christopher appears in the position of guardian or trustee for his half-sister Mary Phillips. Her father had died, leaving her some money. On the scene arrived Sir John Heydon as suitor for Mary’s hand and her money. Sir John was about forty years old and Mary was probably considerably younger, but he held a government office of some importance, and probably he had courtly manners, so his suit was quite successful. Sir

⁷ *Bradford’s History*, 287.

⁸ *Revista del Collegio Araldica*, 1905 *et seq.*

⁹ Records of the old *milizia aurata* are believed to be in the Propaganda archives of the Vatican. A special search of the archives failed to reveal any mention of Gardyners.

¹ John Aubrey, *History of Surrey*, IV. 158.

² Paget, *Croydon Homes of the Past*, 53.

Christopher signed an ante-nuptial contract to pay over £1500 to Sir John and the marriage took place in December, 1628.³ That contract by Christopher became a matter of contention years later because Gardyner was remiss in living up to his agreement.

In 1630 Christopher ventured to visit America. He sailed in some ship going to Newfoundland or Maine, and from one of these places went onward, reaching Massachusetts in the spring of that year, bringing with him a woman as companion and housekeeper. He set up his house on the shore of Neponset River, where North Quincy is now located. Charles Francis Adams, in a monograph of many years ago,⁴ states that one of the sons of Sir Ferdinando Gorges had a claim on the land where the Puritans aimed to settle, and evidence indicated that Gorges sent Gardyner from England as an observer of Puritan activities. John Winthrop and his shipload of colonists arrived a few weeks after the coming of Gardyner.

For several months Gardyner lived quietly in his cabin home, keeping friendly relations with his neighbors and, according to Bradford, even offering to join with them in worship. Nevertheless, he was held in suspicion by the colonial leaders. Their disapproval came to a head when, in February, 1631, they received a report about him from England. They were informed that Gardyner had left behind him in England two wives, each of whom was earnestly wishing to get him back to her particular hearthstone.⁵ Inasmuch as he had still another consort with him in New England the situation was felt to be one that needed correction, and an order for his arrest was made. Gardyner had friends, however, and was warned in time. As the enemy came to view he rushed from his cabin, swam the river, and vanished in the woods. Later, when in England, he declared that he had been "driven to swim for his life."⁶ Safe in the forests, he remained about a month "and traveled up and down among the Indians," as Winthrop says. Then some of the Indians, troubled by his presence, notified the governor of New Plymouth and were told to bring the wanderer to town. They had a lively fight with Gardyner before they were able to club him into submission, but they finally tied him up and brought him to Plymouth town, where he was held until officers from Boston came and took him away.⁷

³ Chancery records, abstract in author's possession.

⁴ 1 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xx. 60-88.

⁵ John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal "History of New England,"* J. K. Hosmer, Editor (New York, 1908), I. 63.

⁶ 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 321.

⁷ *Bradford's History*, 287.

The Puritan leaders at Boston had intended to send Gardyner back to England, but the ship chosen for that purpose sailed before they brought Gardyner from Plymouth. So he remained at Boston, or perhaps at his own cabin at times. It is mentioned that at one time he was present in court and argued with the magistrate during the course of a trial. While awaiting departure, letters to him were relayed from Piscataqua, whereupon the magistrates seized them and read them. Winthrop says they came from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, but he abstains from telling their import. Finally, about August, Gardyner was allowed to sail for Maine. Winthrop says later that "he was kindly used and dismissed in peace, professing much engagement for the great courtesy he had found here."⁸ The next twelve months must have been unhappy ones for Sir Christopher. His girl friend married a Maine colonist, and the long winter that followed was unusually severe. It would be interesting to know how he passed the time, but there is no record of it. Not until August, 1632, was he able to get back to England. He finally landed at Bristol, uttering loud complaints about the way he had been treated. One Thomas Wiggins wrote from Bristol to Boston that "an unworthy person, Sir Christopher Gardiner," had arrived there and was telling about swimming the river to escape Puritan malevolence.⁹

Except for the unkind comments of Puritan critics there is nothing on record about Gardyner's amatory affairs. Had there been any actual evidence of legal criminality in the way of bigamy, most certainly Winthrop would have recorded it, but evidently there was none. Wiggins, in Bristol, had heard rumors about Gardyner's women and understood that they lived in London, knowing no more than that. None of the many references to Gardyner from 1624 onward indicate that he ever entered into matrimony a second time. He may have been a gay widower but it is most unlikely that he was a bigamist.

Gardyner and two others came before the New England Council in November with requests for land grants in New England. The Council was favorable apparently, but it took no action at the time, or, so far as is known, at any later date.¹ There is no record that Gardyner ever tried to locate any grant or to convey title. He showed himself active in co-operating with Gorges and others in trying to make trouble for the New England men. In December, 1632, he joined in a complaint to the privy council alleging acts by them indicative of disloyalty, the which complaint

⁸ Winthrop, *op. cit.*, II. 194.

⁹ 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 321.

¹ *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, April 1867, 113.

was duly considered by the council and dismissed three or four months later as not deserving action.² One of Gardyner's companions in this complaint was Thomas Morton, whose *New English Canaan*, a sarcastic commentary on colonial doings, mentions Gardyner's experiences. Morton refers to him as "Sir Christopher Gardiner (a knight that had been a traveler both by sea and land; a good, judicious gentleman in the mathematic and other sciences useful for plantations, chemistry, etc., and also being a practical engineer)."³ Gardyner contributed two bits of verse to appear in Morton's book.

Morton's book bears the date 1637. In the next year was printed a pamphlet entitled *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Pequet Salvages*, with a Latin dedicatory verse by Philip Vincent.⁴ This Vincent was a clergyman who had formerly been pastor of the Stoke D'Abernon church, seven miles from Dorking, and he was also a brother-in-law of Sir John Heydon, having married Heydon's sister. So far as is known, he had no connection whatever with New England affairs. Under the circumstances one must feel a strong suspicion that Sir Christopher had something to do with the printing of this booklet, although his name nowhere appears upon it.

So far as one may judge from brief glimpses of his life, Gardyner's tendency to roam was for awhile satisfied by his New England experiences, and he settled down at Haling Hall to the routine of a country gentleman. In the winter of 1636-1637 he seems to have had the company of his half-sister Mary, wife of Sir John Heydon, for her baby was baptized at Croydon in May following.⁵ Gardyner and Heydon were on very friendly terms. Letters from Gardyner still exist, showing frequent contact and a common interest in the crude chemistry of that day.⁶ They studied books together and engaged jointly in experimental efforts of their own contriving. Gardyner's letters of 1637 and 1638 are somewhat on the style of the old alchemists, using symbols for substances handled and for methods of treatment. One vaguely gathers from his messages that he was testing various substances by application of heat in different degrees. His "vaporizing oven" and his "digesting oven" seem to have been

² Winthrop, *op. cit.*, I. 101. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574-1660, 157.

³ Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan*, Charles Francis Adams, Editor (Boston: Prince Society, 1883), 338.

⁴ *3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 29-43.

⁵ John Corbet Anderson, *Chronicles of the Parish of Croydon, Surrey*, 79.

⁶ Gardyner letters, 1637-1638, photostats in author's possession.

his chief appliances. One letter reveals that a substance tested came out very yellow and that it "did stinke much." He then tried a more temperate heat and it still came out very yellow and "it gave a fattish ill smell." On another occasion the experimenters mixed two substances, which went into the vapping oven and produced "a goode deale of green matter" which Gardyner dismisses as "superfluous." The letters give no hint of what goal the two scientists were trying to reach.

Sir Christopher was not unmindful of his public duties. In one of his chemistry letters to Heydon he adds a postscript. "Here will be a muster very shortly in our Countrie and my Armes are at fault. I intreat you to lett some of your servants direct this bearer to a Armorer to scowre and repaire what is wanting in them and that thay goe on worke upon them on Monday morning and dispatch them with as much speed as may be. The midle of weeke I will see you. I intreat you to excuse me. I am acquainted with noe Armorer and I would have them well donne whatsoever they cost me."

Young Onslow Gardyner was sixteen years old in March, 1638, and his father had him registered as a student at Cambridge.⁷ Like his father in his early years, however, the young man seems not to have remained there long. In January, 1641, a license issued to Christopher Gardyner of Haling Hall and his son Onslow, both being already beyond seas, allowed them to remain abroad three years.⁸ But England was now beginning to seethe with political antagonisms and it would appear that they soon returned. There is among the English records an undated and unsigned paper to which has been appended the name and address of Gardyner. It may perhaps belong to this period. The anonymous writer offers his services to the government for the discovery of designs and plots.⁹

In August, 1642, the king set up his standard at Nottingham and began four years of civil war with parliament. Sir John Heydon, having been the king's chief of ordnance for many years past, threw in his lot with the king and became chief of the artillery. Gardyner also joined the royal army and his younger son Christopher went with him. Perhaps, in the mass of historical material relating to the civil war, there may be some mention of Gardyner's military service, but it is not easily to be found. All that is available is the probability that he headed a regiment, for in petitions of after years he styles himself colonel. At the beginning of the war, Gardyner conveyed his Haling Hall property to his eldest son Onslow, re-

⁷ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II. 193.

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1640-1641, 425.

⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1627-1628, 496.

serving to himself the use of rooms therein at his pleasure.¹ Onslow seems to have kept out of the army, but he did not go unscathed. His brother Christopher, heading a royalist party, raided his place in 1643 and carried off his horses.² The household at Haling Hall also included Lady Heydon, for Sir John's house at Trinity Minories was close to the government arsenal and had to be vacated when he joined the king. These few facts are all that are available in regard to the Haling Hall family. The war ended in 1646 with the collapse of the royal cause and Colonel Christopher was without employment.

The parliament government distributed penalties widely after the war closed. Sir John Heydon was heavily fined but kept his realty. There seems no mention of Gardyner being fined and he seems to have retained his real property. He is mentioned in 1649 as still holding Sondes Place at Dorking.³

The old friendship between Gardyner and Heydon developed an open rift in 1650. Sir John was out of office and was not as prosperous as of yore. With diminished resources he remembered the old ante-nuptial agreement of 1628 and started suit in chancery to recover from Gardyner the sum of £600 plus £500 accrued interest.⁴ Heydon alleges that about 4 August 1642 Gardyner, "then and many other times lodging and often inhabiting in Heydon's house" did, with his sister, obtain the said contract and kept or disposed of it. This seems to refer to the time that Sir John went into the army and his family vacated the home at Trinity Minories in Middlesex. Sir John says the contract bound Gardyner to pay him £1500 and interest, but that Gardyner paid only £900 and that amount came in portions. Gardyner in response said that he had neither Heydon's copy of the contract nor his own and he thinks that Heydon has gotten them "by some indirect means by him used in this defendant's absence from his dwelling house." He admits that he holds £400 belonging to his sister and suggests that the court let him retain it for the better maintenance of Mary and her children, as Sir John has been niggardly in his treatment of them. This suit seems to have been a result of a separation of Mary from her husband. Some years later, when Heydon was ill, he disposed of his estate by a written statement in which he refers to his wife

¹ Paget, *op. cit.*, 54.

² *Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1879), 686.

³ Owen Manning and William Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, I. 565.

⁴ Chancery records abstracts, transcription in author's possession.

and "the five children that she deserted."⁵ He provides property for her, however, and when he died in 1653 she took over the estate as administratrix.

Except for the mention of him by his son Christopher in 1656 there is no further record of Gardyner until the restoration of the English king in 1660. Young Christopher appeared at Boston and wrote a letter dated 2 July 1656 to the younger John Winthrop, thanking him for courtesies received and introducing himself with the words "Let me give you to understand that I am son to Mr. Gardyner (whom you were pleased to mention, whose sister Sir John Heydon married)." He sealed the letter with the griffin passant of his family arms.⁶ The writer states that he is "driven into these parts of the world by the sad misfortune of the times and a very unhappy fate." Another letter by the same writer exists, showing that he had been living in some place where "cane tops" grew, and that he was then on his way to join the royalist exiles who hovered about Prince Charles in Holland.⁷

In 1660 the exiled prince came back to England to be king. Former royalists then joined in a general push for recognition and recompense, and Colonel Christopher Gardyner was among them. In one petition he asked to be appointed keeper of records in the Tower of London,⁸ but he did not get that office. In another petition of the same year he asked for royal grant of the lease of a farm, because he had been ruined in fortune in the king's cause.⁹ Apparently he attained results, for one Cowper protested vigorously against a royal order of October, 1660, allotting to Gardyner a lease at Waddon, presumably meaning Whaddon Manor near Croydon.¹

Paget, the historian of Croydon, says that Gardyner died in 1661.² His date is probably reckoned by the old-style calendar, for on 11 February 1662 Colonel Gardyner petitions for an interest in certain waste lands in Durham near Holy Island.³ The true date of his death seems to be February or March, 1662, within the old-style year 1661. Paget mentions the former location of the Gardyner family's burial vault and

⁵ Testamentary declaration 1653, photostat in author's possession.

⁶ 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 381, plate 13.

⁷ *Memorials of the Civil War comprising the Correspondence of the Fairfax Family*, Robert Bell, Editor (London, 1849), II. 138.

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1660-1661, 104.

⁹ *Id.*, 403. ¹ *Id.*, 600-601.

² Paget, *op. cit.*, 54.

³ *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1660-1667, 328.

says no trace of it now exists. Sir Christopher's dust is probably mingled with the soil that he once trod.

In 1642, when war began Sir Christopher had given Haling Manor to his son Onslow, and Onslow died in 1658, before his father. The eldest son of Onslow, named Christopher, then took ownership and held the manor for years, but died at some time prior to 1678, whereupon the manor passed to his brother William. It was this William who sold the Sondes Place residence at Dorking in 1678, and who moved out of Haling Hall to another house in Croydon. William died in 1688, still holding ownership of Haling Hall, which fell to his son William, a boy of thirteen years. The old house, however, had seen its best days. In 1696 it was serving as a tavern. Finally in 1708 William sold the property. In after years the old house was torn down.

April Meeting, 1947

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 April 1947, at a quarter before nine o'clock in the evening, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the death on 27 February 1947 of BENTLEY WIRT WARREN, a Resident Member, and that on 28 February 1947 of CHARLES FRANCIS MASON, a Resident Member.

The following resolution was then read by Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON:

Allyn Bailey Forbes

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, elected a Resident Member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts at the April Meeting, 1931, was chosen by the Council to be Editor of the Society's Publications in November, 1931. After completing the editing of Volumes XXVII and XXVIII [Transactions] and Volumes XXIX and XXX [Suffolk Court Records] which were already under way, Mr. FORBES persuaded the Council to shift its printing to the Merrymount Press where, with the aid of the late Daniel Berkeley Updike, he worked out a type, spacing and page by which the most complicated colonial documents could be printed in a typography of outstanding clarity and beauty. Volume XXXI was the first to be set in this new style. Three more complete volumes were edited by Mr. FORBES, and a fourth, XXXV, was begun at the time of his sudden and untimely death 21 January 1947. He was also one of the active editors of the *New England Quarterly* and contributed to it annually a valuable bibliography of the year's publications on New England history. In 1934 he was elected Librarian and in 1940 Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and brought about a similar change in the typographical style of its publications.

Mr. FORBES continued the high standards of editing established by his predecessors Albert Matthews and Kenneth B. Murdock. A sound scholar himself, endowed with the saving graces of humor and common sense, no

contribution passed through his hands without being considerably improved in accuracy and in style. He was industrious in persuading members to present interesting papers and contribute valuable documents; many of the meetings arranged by him stimulated discussion and in turn led to other papers. In the Council his advice on the prudential affairs of the Society was highly valued, and by the entire Society his genial companionship appreciated.

The Most Reverend RICHARD J. CUSHING, of Boston, the Right Reverend NORMAN BURDETT NASH, of Boston, and Miss ALICE BACHE GOULD, of Valladolid, Spain, were elected to Honorary Membership, and Mr. JOSEPH BREED BERRY, of Boston, Mr. CHARLES HENRY POWARS COPELAND, of Salem, Mr. SARELL EVERETT GLEASON, of Cambridge, Mr. GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS, of Cambridge, Mr. MARK DEWOLFE HOWE, of Cambridge, Mr. FREDERICK MILTON KIMBALL, of Andover, and Mr. CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, of Boston, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. WILLIAM EMERSON, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON and ELLIOTT PERKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. F. MORTON SMITH and HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Mr. MARK DEWOLFE HOWE read a paper entitled "The Supreme Judicial Power in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay."¹

The Editor communicated by title the following papers by Professor G. H. TURNBULL:

¹ Printed, with Louis F. Eaton, Jr., as joint author, in *The New England Quarterly*, XX (1947), 291-316.

John Dury's Correspondence with the Clergy of New England about Ecclesiastical Peace

IT has long been known that two letters were sent from New England to John Dury about his work for peace among the churches, one from John Norton and other ministers of Massachusetts, the other from John Davenport and other ministers of Connecticut. Norton's own English translation of his Latin letter was published in 1664 after his death as an appendix to his *Three Choice and Profitable Sermons*; extracts from the translation were quoted by Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*, and the letter was printed in full by Samuel Mather in his *Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England* in 1738.¹ Portions of Davenport's Latin letter were quoted by Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*,² with an English translation.³

Matthews quotes Cotton Mather to the effect that Norton's letter was subscribed by more than forty ministers, and states that it was written before 1661, the year in which the Reverend Ezekiel Rogers, one of the signatories, died. Calder notes that the extracts from Davenport's letter given by Cotton Mather are undated, but suggests that the letter may have been written in response to the books and papers sent to Davenport by Dury in the summer of 1660 and that, if so, it was written after 11 August 1660.⁴

Among Samuel Hartlib's papers⁵ I have found a copy of Norton's orig-

¹ Albert Matthews, "Comenius and Harvard College." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXI. 172, n. 5. J. M. Batten (*John Dury, Advocate of Christian Reunion* [Chicago, 1944], 147, n. 2) quotes part of the translation from Cotton's *Magnalia*.

² Matthews, *ibid.*

³ Cf. Isabel MacBeath Calder, *Letters of John Davenport* (Oxford University Press, 1937), 175-176. In note 1 to page 175 she refers also to A. B. Davenport, *A Supplement to the History and Genealogy of the Davenport Family, in England and America, from A.D. 1086 to 1850* (Stamford, 1876), 393-395, but it is not clear whether the whole of Davenport's letter is printed here, or only the extracts given by Cotton Mather.

⁴ She is referring apparently to the date of a letter (given by her on pages 172-174) from Davenport to Winthrop mentioning the sending of papers and books by Dury to Davenport and "the 2 Teaching Elders at Boston." The letter is endorsed as received by Winthrop on 11 August 1660, but is dated 11 June 1660.

⁵ Which I have been permitted to examine by the kindness of their owner, Lord Delamere.

inal Latin letter, two copies of Davenport's letter, and a copy of a letter in English to Dury from John Wilson and John Norton, dated Boston, 19 September 1659. These letters determine the dates of Norton's and Davenport's letters, indicate the time at which Dury asked for the opinions of the New England clergy, and add other interesting details of information.

Norton's letter is dated 19 September 1659 and is signed by thirty-nine ministers, including Norton, and by Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, and four Fellows of the College.

Davenport's letter is dated simply 1659 and is signed by Davenport and ten other ministers. It begins by referring to the receipt in the previous year, i.e. in 1658, of treatises describing his peace negotiations which Dury had sent to Davenport for the information of the latter and of other ministers in New England. Near the end it refers to Dury's negotiations, "undertaken twenty-nine years ago."⁶ Comparison shows that Cotton Mather did not transcribe accurately the passages from Davenport's letter that he published.

The English letter of 19 September 1659,⁷ signed by Norton and John Wilson,⁸ indicates that Davenport's letter was probably written about the same time as Norton's. It also makes it clear that Norton and Wilson had just received from Dury a letter, dated 1 March 1659, and some printed matter. These *may* be the letters, books and written papers referred to in Davenport's letter to Winthrop of 19 August 1659⁹ and the documents replied to in the letters of Norton and Davenport. They are certainly *not*, as has been erroneously supposed,¹ the papers and books mentioned in Davenport's letter to Winthrop of 11 August 1660.² Confirmation of this view is, I believe, to be found in another letter among Hartlib's papers, written by Davenport to Dury on 25 June 1660. In it Davenport says he has received Dury's letter of 16 January and has communicated to some of the "Preaching Elders of the Plantations on the Sea Coasts neare Newhaven"³ Dury's letter to them; for which, and for the "Intelligence you sent us," they and Davenport thank Dury. These

⁶ Dury did in fact go to England in 1630 to begin his negotiations for ecclesiastical peace.

⁷ Printed in the Appendix to this article.

⁸ One of the signatories of Norton's letter.

⁹ *Winthrop Papers*, II (1865), 504; Calder, 141-143, who dates it 19 June.

¹ E.g., by Calder.

² Matthews, 171-172; Calder, 172-174, who dates it 11 June. ³ Cf. note 4.

letters from Dury were probably his answers to the letters of 1659 from Norton and Davenport.

APPENDIX

Reverend and dearest Sir,

This very afternoone not yet 2 houres since Septemb. 19. wee received yours dated from James-house march 1. whereby wee are not comforted with your remembrance and love alone, but allso with the hope of your life, strength and continued purpose to persevere in that great service of being an instrumentall publick peacemaker which wee cannot but mention as a matter of much joy and thanksgiving; with your letter allso wee have received a packet of prints inclosed, which (as at this instant wee are circumstanced) wee cannot peruse without hazard of loosing the opportunitie of sending by this shipp or prejudice of some other Duty incumbent not admitting of delay. Bee pleased therefore, deare Sir, to accept of the acknowledgment of our debt in generall untill a second opportunitie may enable us to send you our acknowledgment with the enumeration of the particulars received from your selfe.

Sir you shall (wee hope) receive herewith a Latine letter (such as it is) with the hands of the Elders of these parts subscribed. their owne hands are to the Autograph (two except, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Miller, of whome though absent wee persumed, not without cause) the attesting of which is the reason of our two hands subscribing this poore paper. The Autograph it selfe is not fit to bee seene being foule, slurred and rent: In that it hath beene to and fro for the obtaining of hands in respect of the subscribers some of them so farre distanced in their dwellings: let it suffice their names all faithfully transcribed out of the original.

Our hope was that the same letter might have beene subscribed from all the Elders in N. England, in order whereunto wee sent unto Mr. Davenport of N. Haven to drawe up a Letter, but he not accepting thereof, that service fell amongst the elders of these parts. Mr. Davenport himselfe disiring in his answer returned to have it so, in respect the greatest number were hereabouts. Which when it was done, wee understood from Mr. Davenport that hee judged it rather eligible that two letters should be sent unto yourselfe; one from those parts, a second from these, as beeing the surest course to pervent delay, which else seemed to threaten our difficult procuring a generall subscription to the same paper seasonably (not in respect of diversitie in apprehension) but in regard of the habitations of the subscribers, unto which proposal of his the elders of these parts readily consented, and this is the reason of two letters.

Now the Prince of Peace preserve your life and strength, and make your service acceptable unto the saints, our desires and heartinesse herein, you will, wee hope, in some measure understand by our letter to which in that respect wee at present referre you.

Sir the hope you give us to heare further from you, is an encouragement to

us, and with much joy shall wee receive intelligence from you, especially of Gods further blessing upon your labours therein, our prayers wee owe unto your pious labour. Continue to pray for and love in Christ Jesus.

Boston Septemb. 19.
1659.

Rev^d. Sr. Yours to love and serve
John Wilson
John Norton.

Wee shall the next opportunitie acquaint the Elders with your Letter, love &c. assure your selfe they will not blame us for sending unto you their most affectionate salutations and thanckfull acknowledgments before hand.

For the Rev^d. and much honoured Mr. John Durie,
Minister of the Gospel
at his lodging in James Howse, or elsewhere.

Robert Child

IN 1919 Professor George L. Kittredge read a paper on Robert Child before the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.¹ Since that time much additional information about Child has come to light in the papers of Samuel Hartlib, particularly about his first connection with Hartlib, his description of the American plantations in 1645, the period of his life between his leaving New England for England in 1647 and his going to Ireland in 1651, his stay in Ireland until his death in 1654, his acquaintance with George Stirk and his contributions to the three editions of Hartlib's *Legacy of Husbandry*. This information² is the main source from which has been drawn the material for this article, which may be regarded as a supplement to Kittredge's paper.

The first mention of Child in Hartlib's papers occurs in an entry in the latter's *Ephemerides* for 1641, after 13 April, of information from John Pell that "Dr. Child of New Eng[land] have many desiderata and thoughts esp[ecially] about the exercises of children how to keepe them in continual imploiment," and of Hartlib's note there that Pell and Mr. (Edward) Ironside are "well acquainted with him." By this time Child had returned to England from his first visit to New England.³

To help to fill the gap in our information about Child from October, 1645, soon after his return to New England on his second visit, to May,

¹ "Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant." *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXI. 1-146.

² I am indebted to Lord Delamere, the owner of Hartlib's papers, for permission to use them.

³ Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 7-8.

1646, when his *Remonstrance* comes to light, there is a long letter⁴ from him to Hartlib, written from Boston on 24 December 1645, describing the plantations on the eastern seaboard of America, and incidentally giving his opinion of the religious situation in them, including New England itself, which is interesting in the light of the controversy⁵ which was so soon to flare up round himself and his fellow-remonstrants.

According to Kittredge,⁶ Child sailed from New England for England before 12 September 1647. Hitherto little has been known of his history between that time and his going to Ireland in 1651 except what could be gleaned from his letters to John Winthrop the younger of 13 May 1648 and 26 August 1650 and the latter's letters to him of 25 October 1647 and 23 March 1648/49.⁷ Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for the years 1648-1651, however, supply much additional information which may now be summarized.

In 1648 Hartlib recorded that Child knew someone in Kent who had discovered a means, until then unknown, "for slitting of iron," and that Child wished a library to be erected and a botanical garden to be provided in every county, and physicians to meet to compare "their knowledges and experiences." He told Hartlib that there was a great deal of "real philosophy" in the sermons that Matthesius⁸ had written on "the metallic subjects" in the Scriptures, that Dr. Mayerne was going home to Geneva, and that some of its members had resolved to ask the College of Physicians in London to erect a laboratory,⁹ "in which all chymical medecins may the better bee prepared, every doctor taking his turne to attend it." He also told Hartlib of the large numbers of beef cattle sold yearly in the Bermudas after being fattened on fennel, "which grows very long," and of the great quantities of figs there, of which a drink or mead is made, and he advocated, as the best things for advancing husbandry in England, the improvement of pasturage and the growth of more wheat and its protection from blight.

⁴ The original letter, torn and eaten away badly in places, and two copies, one incomplete, the other corrected by Hartlib himself, have been found among Hartlib's papers. The full text of the original, restored as far as possible, is given in the Appendix.

⁵ Described by Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 17-91.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 63.

⁷ Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 60, 92, 93, 98, 99, 125, 129-132. The letters of 13 May 1648 and 23 March 1648/49 are printed in *Winthrop Papers*, V, 1645-1649, Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1947), 221-223 and 324.

⁸ Johann Mathesius (1504-1565), minister to a mining community in Joachimsthal, Bohemia, published a collection of sermons called *Sarepta oder Bergpostille*.

⁹ An entry in 1649 gives the information from Child that this had been done.

There are many entries concerning Child in the *Ephemerides* for 1649. He told Hartlib of books: of a 1646 edition, published at Padua, of Nicolas Papin's "rare" book, *De Pulvere Sympathetico Dissertatio*,¹ which he lent to Hartlib "for a few houres"; of a "very choice and rare chymical book," which he names variously as *Idaea Idaearum Operatricum* and *Idaea Operarum Operatricum*, printed at Prague and to be had in St. Paul's Churchyard for seven shillings;² of the books of new and old, retried experiments made for "a vice-roy of Naples a D. of Doussy or some such name,"³ some copies of which escaped burning at the hands of the Jesuits and were obtained by "one Kirton"; of his being engaged in "transcribing" out of Low Dutch into English the "best pieces" of Isaac Hollandus, such as "de quinta essentia"⁴ with many others never published," and of his wish that all the chemical treatises of Englishmen, of which the library at Oxford had a great store, might be printed together in one volume; and, early in November, of the "great" work *De Generatione* to be published "shortly" by Dr. Harvey.⁵ In March he was retiring for half a year to try "Carmehels⁶ chymical traditions," was expecting his books and "naturals" out of New England,⁷ and desired to have the instruments, of Helmont's own making, for easy injection into the bladder for the stone. He informed Hartlib that there was a rich silver mine in Wales, much spoiled, however, if not destroyed, by the "late warres," and that some antimony was to be found in Staffordshire; that near Salisbury a grass, "good for many things," grows as tall as a man and is mown thrice a

¹ J. Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1906), II. 167, does not give this edition.

² Not in Ferguson, *op. cit.*, and not yet identified.

³ Perhaps François du Soucy, of whose *Sommaire de la médecine chymique* Child had a copy; cf. W. J. Wilson, "Robert Child's Chemical Book List of 1641," *Journal of Chemical Education*, XX. 127, number 33, and Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 388.

⁴ I do not find this in Ferguson.

⁵ Published in 1651.

⁶ Carmihill, a Scotsman, is mentioned in one of Sir Cheney Culpeper's letters to Hartlib in connection with the *menstruum universale* or Alkahest; but he has not yet been identified. He may be the "freind in Scotland, who hath perfected Helmont's menstruum and made many excellent experiments by it for transmutation," of whom Child writes to John Winthrop the younger in his letter of 13 May 1648 from Gravesend; *Winthrop Papers*, v. 222.

⁷ An entry in 1650, probably written in February, says that his library "of many selected books" had come from New England. A list of his chemical books, drawn up in 1641, is given in *Winthrop Papers*, IV. 334-338, and is exhaustively annotated by Wilson, *op. cit.*, 126-129, where item 110 should perhaps read, not "Bornellii," as suggested by Professor Jantz, but "Burnetti," or "Bornetti," i.e., Burnet, for whom see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I. 133.

year, and that on the making of glass, which is still very defective in England, there is an excellent little treatise in Italian, *De Arte Vitraria*,⁸ of which Dr. Merret has a copy, which, if translated, would cost only three or six pence. He said that John Tradescant was willing, for an annuity of £100, to sell his chamber of rarities, most of which were represented "very lively" in a book, and his botanical garden, which together were really worth more than £1,000, and to let his son continue to look after the garden, as he had been brought up to do, thereby saving the cost of employing someone else; that Parliament should purchase them and that the rarities and garden might be given to the University of Cambridge, which might thereby "outstrip Oxford in their bookish library";⁹ and that, moreover, Dr. Bate¹ was offering £400 towards a botanical garden. He expressed the wish that "the Historie of all incurable diseases may bee accurately recorded from y[ear] to y[ear] by some in the Colledge of Physitians." He became acquainted with Thomas Henshaw and gave Hartlib information about him, including the fact that he "exercises hims[elf] in Chymistry."

Belonging to 1649 there is also an interesting letter among Hartlib's papers, written by William White, an expert miner, who² seems to have been left stranded by Child's departure from New England in 1647, and who wrote on 24 July 1648 to the elder John Winthrop, on leaving New England for the Bermudas with William Berkeley, a letter in which he gives as one of his reasons for leaving that Child had covenanted to pay him five shillings a day and to let him have two cows and a house rent-free and land for himself and his children, but that the covenants had not been carried out, "to my great loss." In the letter,³ written on 8 May 1649⁴ and unaddressed but without doubt to Child, White, far from reproaching Child, as one might expect from his letter to Winthrop, writes warmly wishing Child were with him in the Bermudas, telling him of the great possibilities of the place in land unused that could

⁸ By Antonio Neri. Christopher Merret translated it for the Royal Society in 1662.

⁹ The collection of rarities ultimately went, through Elias Ashmole, to the University of Oxford.

¹ It is probably he of whom Hartlib records: "Dr. Bates about Canterbury a pretty man. An acquaintance of Mr. Worsley and Dr. Child. The 15 of Dec[ember] 1649 hee was the first time at my house." I am not sure if George Bate is the man referred to.

² According to Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 63, n. 3.

³ There is also a list of "Mr. White's inventions," which include stoves, stills and furnaces, and are no doubt those of this William White.

⁴ He writes from Spanish Point, Barbados, but his references are undoubtedly to the Bermudas.

grow sugar and tobacco, in fishing and oysters, minerals and the growing of fruit, especially figs for the distillation of *aqua vitae* and for sale after being dried, urging him to come out there because of the troubles in England, and saying that, in that event, if his wife should die, "I will place out all my children and travel with you till I dye." Mr. Berkeley, he adds, importunes Child to join them and promises him the best possible entertainment.

Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for 1650 contain many entries about Child. On 30 January he took Henshaw to visit Hartlib for the first time, and to see the copy of *Selenographia*, which its author, Hevelius, had sent for the University of Oxford. Henshaw's father, now dead, was "a great chymist," and "so is his mother who is yet alive." Henshaw had a laboratory and a German "laborator," and claimed to have the Alkahest, among the manuscripts belonging to Sir Hugh Plat which he had, and which Child had seen, being one inscribed "Helmont's Altahest"; Helmont, when he was in England, having, it seems, in Child's words, been acquainted with Plat. Child was trying to form "a chymical club" with Henshaw, Webbe (presumably Joseph), Vaughan and others, which would collect "all Engl[ish] Phil[osophical] bookes or other chymists" and all manuscripts, would translate them and publish them in one volume, and would make all philosophers acquainted with one another and "oblige them to mutual communications."⁵ In Child's view, Henshaw's library of chemical books and manuscripts was second only to that of Dr. Fludd of Maidstone, which contained some "choice" manuscripts of John Dee and Robert Fludd,⁶ his kinsman, and of which Child had taken a catalogue. *La Maison Rustique*,⁷ most of which had been taken from Serres,⁸ had been trans-

⁵ Later in the year Child told Hartlib that Henshaw was about to put into practice "a model of [a] Christian Learned Society" (referring to J. V. Andreae's *Christianae Societatis Imago*, translated in 1647 by John Hall as "A Modell of a Christian Society") by joining with six friends "that will have all in common, devoting thems[elves] wholly to devotion and studies, and separating thems[elves] from the world, by leading a severe life for diet, apparel etc. Their dwelling-house to bee about 6 or seven miles from London. They will have a Laboratorie and strive to do all the good they can to their neighbourhood." Child, Obadiah Walker and Abraham Woodhead were to be members, and so, too, we may presume, were Joseph Webbe and Thomas Vaughan, who was writing his "Philosophia Adamica" (*Magia Adamica*, Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 196) at this time, according to Child. This is the group mentioned by Child in his letter of 26 August 1650 to the younger Winthrop; see Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 99.

⁶ Child went to see Dr. Fludd at Maidstone in 1650, and took Elias Ashmole there in 1651 (Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 100); but it is most unlikely that Child knew Robert Fludd (*ibid.*, 129), for, if he had, Hartlib would certainly have mentioned the fact.

⁷ By Charles Estienne, completed by Jean Liébault; published in 1554.

⁸ Perhaps Oliver de Sevres, whose *Théâtre d'Agriculture* (Paris, 1600) is mentioned

lated into English as *The Country Farm*,⁹ but the husbandry described in it was not so suitable for England. Palissy's works,¹ Child thought, should also be translated into English. In the library at Oxford the smaller pamphlets had been collected and bound up together into one volume, with the result that not more than one or two of them were noted in the catalogue. He reported that one Johnson,² the "laborator" to the College of Physicians, was said to have the book called *Helps for suddain Accidents*, that Carrichter's³ books had been translated into English and were being printed, and that the son of Dr. Dorislaus⁴ had translated "all Glau-b[er]." He commended Kentmannus' *De Metallis*⁵ and considered it of great use for the art of teaching. The author of *Virg. Virgo Triumph.*,⁶ he said, promised, towards the end of the book, a treatise concerning sawmills. In regard to sawmills he also said that Richard Leader,⁷ who had a good estate at Limerick in Ireland and the first house of brick ever built there, was taking his brother to New England with him to superintend the sawmills he had invented, which would supply "boards and deales" to Limerick, not more than eight hundred leagues away, where they were needed. Leader had invented a means of cutting through cold iron "of an hand brea[d]th" and a way of making iron hoops and bars "with fewer men and greater dispatch," a device for making iron bolts easily, after the manner of drawing wire, and better than hitherto, and an "ex-

in the third edition of Hartlib's *Legacy*, 253; but in that case Child's statement seems unacceptable.

⁹ *Maison rustique, or, the Countrie ferme*, translated by R. Surflet, appeared in 1600; a revised edition, by Gervase Markham, with additions from French, Spanish and Italian authors, was published in 1616.

¹ Bernard Palissy (d. 1590), the French potter. Mersenne, writing to Theodore Haak on 10 December 1639, said that Palissy had, like Gabriel Plattes, written a book on minerals, waters, etc., which had been published in 1580, and that Palissy "a de fort belles choses et est plaisant à lire"; later, he sent this and possibly other books by Palissy to Haak for Plattes and Haak to look at. Hartlib seems to be referring to Mersenne's opinion of Palissy in a letter of 10 August 1640 printed by D. Masson, *Life of John Milton*, 7 vols. (London, 1859-1894), III. 217.

² Probably William Johnson, for whom see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 449.

³ Bartholomaeus Carrichter. No English translation of his works is listed in the British Museum Catalogue.

⁴ Isaac Dorislaus the younger; I know of no translation of Glauber by him.

⁵ The British Museum Catalogue gives Johann Kentman: *Nomenclaturae rerum fossilium*, 1565, in C. Gesner, *De omni rerum fossilium genere*.

⁶ Meaning apparently *Virginia, Virgo Triumphans*. A book about Virginia, with the title *Virgo Triumphans*, by Edward Williams, appeared in 1650.

⁷ Leader had first gone to Massachusetts in 1645 to manage iron works in which Child, John Winthrop the younger and others were financially interested; Kittredge, *op. cit.*, index under Leader.

cellent" new kind of weighing-scale. Leader also commended a wine made of cherries, sugar and water of which he had promised the recipe to Child, and another made of cider and perry. Child told Hartlib that on 9 April he had met "a new man of Experiments and Art," named Marshall, who had "a whole chamber of insects" and was very skilful in drawing, painting and representing objects. He also gave Hartlib much information about the history, abilities and achievements of George Stirk,⁸ whom Hartlib met on the Exchange for the first time on 11 December. Child had much to tell Hartlib about husbandry of various kinds. His brother⁹ and cousin were planting a nursery of pear trees "a mile from Greenwich," and had already got more than forty kinds from different parts of England, of which Child had given Hartlib a catalogue; they intended to plant a nursery of apple trees in the following year. He told Hartlib of "an excellent designe of great profit that should bee tried in Engl[and] described in a little Tr[eatise] called Instructions¹ for the increasing of Mulberie Trees and the breeding of Silke-worms for the making of silke in this kingd[om]"; this husbandry had not been known or described by any of the ancient writers such as Varro or Columella, but had been brought from Italy to Paris; Child himself had "a great minde to set upon this experiment," and Henshaw had a "choice" book about silkworms. He recommended the "husbandry of bees" as "an excellent way of enriching," saying that it would bring about £100,000 a year into England, and also recommended, as the foundation of good pasturage and therefore of husbandry, more study of all sorts of grass, including the English kinds which had been accurately described in the commendable *Phytologia*,² lucerne, recently introduced into France from that place, "as is supposed," and growing there better than any they have, and sainfoin,³ brought into England from France by the Duke of Lennox and growing "exceeding well" on his lands. He regarded the Earl of Thanet, for a nobleman, as one of the greatest husbandmen in Kent,

⁸ I hope to write a separate article on Stirk, about whom Hartlib's papers contain much new and valuable information.

⁹ Probably John, for some information concerning whom see later, and also Kittredge, *op. cit.*, index. Child judged him in 1650 to have become one of the best husbandmen in the whole of England.

¹ William Stallenge wrote "Instructions for the increasing of Mulberie trees and breeding of silke-wormes," published in 1609. Child mentions him in the *Legacie*, first edition, 72, but says the book is out of print.

² William Howe's *Phytologia Britannica*, published anonymously in 1650.

³ Both lucerne and sainfoin are dealt with in Child's "large letter" in Hartlib's *Legacie*.

keeping no idle servant about him and providing himself excellently "with all manner of gardens." He did not think the growing of grain could be improved in England unless the commons, "which are pretended for the good of the poor but make them live basely, poorly and idly," were all put into gardens and enclosures, thereby maintaining twice as many people; but he thought that acre for acre England would maintain as many people or more than France, an acre about Paris being worth commonly six shillings and six pence. He promised to get Hartlib an Italian recipe for preserving mackerel in oil and spices for many months, which "should be followed by good oeconomical English Families," and declared that the best way to increase the eating of fish was to encourage the fishing-trade to make it plentiful and cheaper than meat, and not to pass laws compelling people to eat it.

Other subjects about which information from Child was recorded in the *Ephemerides* for 1650 were cures, inventions, experiments, doctors, and members of the Universities, as the following brief account shows. One Woodward,⁴ an illiterate Billingsgate shopkeeper, after suffering grievous torments and trying in vain all kinds of physicians, cured himself of gout, and then many others, including an old woman of Canterbury known to Child, by means of a remedy he found in a book on physic bought casually for sixpence from a woman who came to his door. A poor mechanic in Kent invented an "excellent" device for polishing looking glasses, but was with difficulty saved from hanging for making keys to open locks. A way-waser made by "Alten the instrument-maker" cost fifty shillings, but Robert Boyle had a special one bought in Italy or France. Child intended to make an inventory of all chambers of rarities with Dr. Merret, whom he commended for "mechanical endeavours and industries." William Oughtred's son was an excellent maker of watches and their cases, and sold one for £5 to Henshaw, who said it was the best he had ever seen. Child wished that Sir Hugh Plat's invention⁵ for taking away smoke from London might be perfected and introduced, and so make the city healthier and fuel cheaper. Dr. Heigenius⁶ having told Haak that a mixture of goose grease and something which Haak had forgotten would keep the body from all cold, so that Dr. Heigenius needed to wear nothing but thin linen in the coldest weather, Child said that fish

⁴ The name is given, from Child, as Wadwood elsewhere in the *Ephemerides*.

⁵ His coal-balls, according to his *A new, cheape and delicate Fire of Cole-balles* (London, 1603), 8. Plat had mentioned this invention briefly in *The Jewell House of Art and Nature* (London, 1594), 69-70.

⁶ Not Christian Huygens; possibly his father, Constantyn.

oil had the same effect and was used by the natives of New England. Dr. Savine of Canterbury, whose father had died and left him nearly £20,000, had resigned his practice and was devoting himself entirely to experiments,⁷ for which he wanted a German gardener. "Dr. Charlet⁸ becomes very fantastical, and Dr. Child feares that hee will fall madde." Child recommended the herb "calaminta" taken as a posset⁹ as an infallible cure for fevers and agues, and an amulet of toads, hung on the pit of the stomach, as mentioned by Helmont and seen in an old manuscript by Child, against the plague. He believed that recipes and medicaments that have more of Art (or artificial compoundings) than of Nature in them are "to bee suspected to be the worst," and that the fewer the simples or ingredients are, the better. He affirmed, and Boyle and William Petty agreed, that physicians hitherto had achieved better skill to know and discern diseases than to cure them. The Italian physicians, he said, "physick" sick people handsomely rather than cure them; and Ireland, according to some, had produced as many good physicians as Italy, Irish physicians being much commended by Helmont, and usually one member of every great Irish family becoming a physician; their many rare recipes are preserved and imparted from one family to another. Of the English universities, Child affirmed that their members are generally better disciplined and more godly than those in foreign ones, that they study as hard or more than those oversea, being bound by orders to rise at 4, that they cannot abide that anyone should visit them in the morning, and that in every college there are to be found many exquisite in school divinity, or Aristotle's philosophy or metaphysics; "but because they are so retired and noncommunicative, and because they do not write and print so much as other Universities doe by way of vaporising therefore they are misjudged."

Child left England for Ireland in 1651, and the last of the entries about him in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for that year occurs between 12 February and 10 April. These entries give more information about Stirk's previous history and present activities, record Child's undertaking to tell

⁷ "As of muskmellons etc. etc." The word is not so spelt in the *Ephemerides*, but as "mashmillons." Hartlib may have meant muskmelons, which Child wished to see introduced into England from New England; Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 107.

⁸ In 1650 Dr. John French mentioned him to Child as "my learned friend, and your experienced fellow-traveller." Walter Charleton may be meant.

⁹ Elsewhere in the *Ephemerides* Hartlib quotes Child: "The herbe called Cardomin [Cardamine, presumably] beaten to powder and drunk in beer or posset hath done most wonderful cures of the falling sickness."

Hartlib more about sainfoin and the grass grown near Salisbury,¹ state his view that the abele tree² is perhaps the same as the sycamore or great maple, and tell about four men, Elias Ashmole, Dr. Currar, Anthony Morgan and William Howe. Captain Ashmole, as he is called, is described as one of Child's acquaintances and much acquainted with Mr. Lilly,³ "a very ingenious man," one "that was before with the Parliament" and that "offers to maintaine about him [one] that can draw, experiment etc." He married "a rich lady of some 100 a y[ear],"⁴ is "setting out Theatrum Chymicum⁵ of Engl[ish] Philosophers," and has contrived a way for removing fleas from his house, which Child promises Hartlib he will learn more fully from Ashmole. Dr. Currar, who had been physician to Lord Inchiquin⁶ before the latter "wheeled about," had collected a number of Irish medicines and much information about the natural history, especially the mines, of Ireland, but the collections had fallen into the hands of one Dr. Harding, "one of the commissioners at Corke," from whom Currar could not get them back; but Child hoped to "finde favor," and thus presumably retrieve them. Morgan Child describes as one of "the best Herbarists for Engl[ish] plants," who is making a public botanical garden "neere the booling greene or alley at Westm[inster], giving 5 lb. for rent a y[ear] and having 27 y[ears] interest in it"; with him in the enterprise are William Howe,⁷ Stanley, an apothecary, and a third whose name Child has forgotten.

Child landed in Ireland from England on 20 May 1651 and remained there until his death, which occurred between February and May, 1654.⁸ For Child's life during this period Hartlib's papers supply two main sources, his letters to Hartlib, of which there are twelve, ranging from 1 August 1651 to 8 October 1653, and entries in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for these years, the information from which may now be summarized.

His first letter, of 1 August 1651, was written from the house of Colonel Arthur Hill at Lisneygarvey,⁹ sixty-eight miles from Dublin, and

¹ Already mentioned above under 1649 and 1650, respectively.

² Parts (e.g., 115-116, 116-117) of the third edition of Hartlib's *Legacy* (1655) deal with abele trees. Child accepted (*ibid.*, 150) Boate's correction (*ibid.*, 123) that the abele is *Populus alba*.

³ William Lilly, presumably.

⁴ An entry in the *Ephemerides* for 1655 says that Ashmole "dwels not far from Mr. Brewerton [William Brereton] in whose county [Cheshire] he married his wife."

⁵ Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I. 52.

⁶ Murrough O'Brien (1614-1674), who declared for Charles I in 1648.

⁷ See n. 2, p. 27. ⁸ Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 122.

⁹ Lisnagarvy, now Lisburn, is in County Down, a few miles southwest of Belfast.

was received by Hartlib on 20 August, having been sent by the hands of Mr. Howard, a merchant. Child was in good health but uncertain whether he would remain in Ireland and whether "the country aire, which is hurtfull to our English bodys would agree with mine." He enclosed Hartlib's letter in one to Ashmole, hoping the latter would deliver Hartlib's "with his owne hand, that you may be acquainted with him, for I scarce know any man of a more publicke spirit, and at this time acteth much for to advance it; perhaps some books at St. James¹ may be usefull for him." Child had gathered seeds of some Irish plants which he would send for Morgan with his next letter, and also had various insects for Marshall,² who "should do well to publish his experiences" on insects. He sent his "love and service to John Dury, Benjamin Worsley³ and Boyle,⁴ "if he be with you."

The second letter, dated Lisneygarvey, 13 November 1651, was not received by Hartlib until 3 February 1652. Child hoped that the Isle of Man having been reduced⁵ a regular correspondence with London would be possible and suggested that Hartlib should send his letters through Matthew Locke, sometime servant to Colonel Hill but now with Secretary Roe,⁶ with whom Worsley was well acquainted. He had received no replies to the letters he had already sent, and indeed not "a syllable" from anyone, so that he was like "an exile banished from all commerce with my ingenuous freinds and acquaintance," and if he could not hear from his friends in London he would be "discouraged from writing, and shal not with quietnes remayne here." He has no news, for if anything were done fifty or sixty miles away, London knew of it before him, there being no passing between Lisneygarvey and Dublin without a strong convoy of horse, because the woods were full of rogues. With the letter he sent for Morgan fifty or sixty kinds of Irish plants—not rare plants, but perhaps half a dozen of which might not be commonly known in

¹ John Dury was at this time library-keeper at St. James's Palace. Ashmole was about to print "some ould Ms. of Chymistry," according to Child's letter of 13 November 1651 to Hartlib.

² In the *Legacie*, first edition, 68 (the second, but the proper page 68) Child mentions Marshall, "who hath 3. or 400 Insects, and can give a very good account of their original feedings."

³ Hartlib made Worsley and Child known to each other early in 1648.

⁴ Boyle did not go to Ireland until 1652; T. Birch, *Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle*, 6 vols. (London, 1772), 1. L.

⁵ Under the Earl of Derby it had been a nest of Royalist privateers which had hindered traffic; it surrendered on 31 October 1651.

⁶ William Rowe, secretary to the Irish and Scottish Committees of the Council of State.

England; he would gather more the next year and share any rare ones with Morgan. He wished Hartlib to become acquainted with Morgan, "an ingenious man," with Humphrey of York-garden⁷ and with Marshall,⁸ "who can give the best account of insects of any in England," and to whom he would send all sorts of insects which he had gathered in Ireland, if only he knew how to send them. Hartlib was to direct anyone who wished to send Child seeds or anything else, how to do so. Child and others had been trying experiments in husbandry, especially the draining of bogs to make excellent land; in 1652 they hoped to experiment with "wadd [woad], hops, hemp, flax, setting, howing etc." He wished to revise his "discourse of Husbandry,"⁹ "for you know in what hast I wrote it," and to know what Glauber and other "ingenious" men in Germany were doing.

The date of the third letter, also from Lisneygarvey, has been torn, but it was written on the 26th, probably of February, and in 1651/52, and sent through Royden, a goldsmith, who was to deliver it with his own hands and also relate fully how things were with Child and "with these north parts," and who was to bring back to Child whatever Hartlib delivered to him. Child wished Hartlib to return three books left with him by Child, "if you use them not"; one, a small book, "wherin is the patterne for an Hopgarden," and two Dutch books about engines. Also, he wanted a copy or two of his "large letter" for revision and enlargement, "if it be worth the reprinting." He and others were trying to promote the growing in Ireland of flax, hops, sainfoin, Flanders clover-grass, and woad, to plant all sorts of fruits and to understand "the nature and propriety" of the native plants. He had found great difficulty in deciding whether to settle in Ireland, "because the Ayre, especially in winter, doth not very well agree with me, and because I am out of the road of ingenious men, and cannot as yet heare from my friends and kindred concerning my private affaires; furthermore, as yet I am very idle, for Coll Hill with whom I sojourne is not as yet at home,¹ but the next summer re-

⁷ "The Gardiner of Yorke garden" is mentioned in Child's letter of 1 March 1644/45 to the younger Winthrop (*Winthrop Papers*, v. 11); Evelyn (*Diary*, ed. Wheatley, 4 vols. [London, 1879], II. 79) mentions this garden as being in the Strand and having belonged to the Duke of Buckingham.

⁸ Hartlib, in May, 1654, hoped "shortly to be acquainted" with Marshall; Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 85.

⁹ His "large letter," which formed the bulk of *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie*; Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* (University Press of Liverpool, 1947), 97, number 37.

¹ In his first letter of 1 August 1651 Child said that Colonel Hill had "scarce lyen 3 nights in his house" since Child's arrival in May.

moveth to an house which he is building; but I have almost digested these crudities, and the winter being past, which hath bin could and tempestuous [I] begin more and more to affect settlement here." He might return the next summer to England to see his friends; "otherwise I cannot promise my selfe much leisure these many yeares." He asked Hartlib for "the newes from all parts," what works Glauber had lately published, what new designs there were in husbandry and how public businesses were proceeding; he had seen in a newsbook that Dr. French had translated a work by Glauber.²

On 11 March 1651/52 he wrote again from Lisneygarvey, saying that he had at last received, about ten days before his last letter was written, "a few lines" from Hartlib written on 15 December. He was sending this letter by Mr. Burgh, a gentleman who was Hartlib's neighbor, his father living in the Strand "nigh St. Martins lane at the Beare and ragged Staffe." Child was in good health, "though at present people begin to be sickly," and, being likely to stay in Ireland for some time, wanted to have a constant correspondence, which might be established soon, "when the passages to Dublin are cleared." Plans were being made to blow up Galway, and "there is very great hopes of finishing the warre totally this next summer." Child "could have wished, that I had seene my letters which I wrote to you before it had bin reprinted,"³ but was glad that it was so much esteemed as to be thought worth reprinting. He would take notice of the husbandry of Ireland and endeavor to set things right there; flax grew well in the north and was the main interest, but, if they could get seed, they would sow clover, which might be very useful and profitable in England too. Three or four Dutchmen had come over to plant, and he hoped they too would grow clover. He could not give an exact account of the passage in his "large letter" about honey⁴ until he had seen it again, but he knew that pure honey, or sugar, gently boiled in pure water, then well skimmed and cooled, and afterwards "set to working" with barm, made a liquor which some people with good palates had mistaken for Greek wine. He hoped that Glauber, who had promised various things

² Glauber's *Philosophical Furnaces* (London, 1651), translated by John French; see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I. 293.

³ His "large letter" in the second, 1652, edition of *Samuel Hartlib his Legacy*.

⁴ Cf. *Legacie*, first edition, 68-69: "I know that if one take pure neate honey and ingeniously clarify and scum and boile it, a liquor may be made not inferiour to the best sack, muscadine etc. in colour like to rock-water, without ill odour or savour; so that some curious Pallates have called it Vin Greco, rich and racy Canary, not knowing what name to give it, for its excellency. . . . An excellent drinke not unlike this may be made of Sugar, Molossoes, Raisins, etc."

of this kind, "and I suppose is most able to accomplish them," would make them more clearly manifest "for the good and comfort of these northern countryes." He regretted that he had not gone to see Mr. Weston⁵ and his Flanders husbandry at Guildford, for "it would be very useful in these parts." He asked how the handmill for grinding corn was thriving and said it would not at present be of importance for Ireland, which "wants neither wind nor water" for mills, and where handmills were not permitted, "leste the State should be couzened thereby," there being an excise of sixpence a bushel on all wheat and barley ground. He was sorry to hear of Ashmole's sickness and would be glad to see finished two or three "peeeces" which Ashmole was busy with when Child left England, viz., John Tradescant's rarities, and "our ould English Philosophers."⁶ He hoped that Morgan, Humphrey and especially Marshall would be useful to the public, and said that he would write only to Hartlib until he heard whether his other friends were alive or dead. He sent his "love and service" to Webbe and Stirk.

Child did not, however, escape the sickness of which he had written to Hartlib on 11 March, for his next letter, a very brief one written on 8 April 1652, began, "though I am so weake that I can scarce hould pen in hand," and ended, "truly I have bin even at the gates of death, and yet am not throuly got out." He had received the "much desired packet" from Hartlib through Mr. Royden; it must have contained the second edition of Hartlib's *Legacy*, for Child went on to say that there were errata in his "letter," though only superficial ones, and that the annotator⁷ had alluded to all, and added some of his own. He entreated Hartlib to get Stirk to write a line, asked to see all Glauber's works, if possible, and hoped that, if Morgan was sending him any seeds, they would arrive in time.

On 23 June he wrote again, saying that when he last wrote he "was newly crawled up," but was now "in perfect health." He will soon answer the "Annotations" of Dr. Boate, whom he thanks for his pains, and will correct also some errata which Boate had missed. If his "large letter" is to be printed for the third time Hartlib should let him know, so that he may "add some things, and rectify what is amisse, both in the first and second edition, which last seemeth to be more imperfect than the for-

⁵ Sir Richard Weston, who died in 1652, and whose *Discours of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders* was published by Hartlib in 1650; second edition, 1652.

⁶ See n. 49 for his *Theatrum Chemicum*. He assisted John Tradescant the younger in the preparation of his book, *Museum Tradescantianum*, published in 1656.

⁷ Arnold Boate; cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 108.

mer." He is gathering "stubble" for the "Alphabet"⁸ which he has received from Hartlib. A bag of seed has come to him, he supposes from Morgan, but without any letter. He is resolved to stay where he is and to give Hartlib the best account he can of those parts and to try some experiments of husbandry; the Irish are surrendering, Sligo being their last garrison of importance, and there are great hopes that soon "all things will be in peace and quietnes"; the seas have been cleared of pirates. He would like to hear from friends such as Dr. Currar, presents his service to Sir Cheney Culpeper,⁹ and asks what Glauber is doing and what other things in husbandry are coming forth, because husbandry is beginning to flourish very much in his part of Ireland and men wish to see books on it. The English in Ireland are very busy draining bogs, which become the best land; anything more by Blith,¹ therefore, about draining will be "very acceptable."

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In his next letter of 29 August, taken to Hartlib by Mr. Burgh, he said that he received a line or two sometimes from Hartlib, but from scarcely any other friend, though he writes to them. He had received the previous week a packet from Hartlib with the two Dutch books about engines and some of Glauber's works. He had not yet been able to recover his copy of the *Natural History of Ireland*, which he had lent out, everyone in the place wanting to perfect husbandry and there being "scarce any place in Ireland, where men are more active in fencing, drayning, dunging and liming their land." If Dr. Arnold Boate were willing to undertake to complete his brother Gerard's *Natural History of Ireland*,² Child would help, knowing that Boate's experience was greater than his own, "for my abode here hath bin but a little while, neither have I any time travelled far, because the Iland is as yet unsettled . . . I can give a considerable account of the plants which grow naturally in the woods and which are in the garden, I have bin able to draw a century or two of them, . . . what stones and earth and mines are in these northerne parts I have somewhat observed, I have likewise taken notice of the customes of the Irish and English and Scots, and some politick observations, concerning the settlement of Ireland, I hope shortly to draw them up in some

⁸ "The Alphabet of Interrogatories," of 25 pages, which comes after "An Interrogatory relating more particularly to the Husbandry and Naturall History of Ireland" in the 1652 edition of Hartlib's *Legacy*.

⁹ Whom he had got to know, through Hartlib, early in 1648.

¹ Walter Blith. The third impression, "much augmented," of his *The English Improver, or a New survey of Husbandry*, was published at London in 1652.

² For a second edition, the first having been published in 1652; Turnbull, *op. cit.*, 100, number 41.

order, and by the next opportunity to send them to you." He hoped that his "cousin Long sometimes visited Hartlib."

Writing again on 23 November, he acknowledged a letter from Hartlib of 7 August, but said he had not received other letters mentioned by Hartlib, for he knew nothing of Worsley's "intentions"³ and had received no questions "till these 4 last, to which I cannot at present returne an answeare." Worsley and Petty (the latter of whom is mentioned by him for the first time⁴) are in Dublin and well, but he has not heard from them. Colonel Hill is in London, so that Child can give Hartlib little account of Sir Hugh Stafford's notes.⁵ He encloses amendments for his "large letter," if it is reprinted, and a sheet "in answeare to the animadverser"; "the other part" is ready, but not yet written out fair; if Hartlib finds mistakes in it, he is to return it. He may see London in the summer; "this place and I do not very well agree, the winters are troublesome to me, and I am troubled that I am in a corner of the world, where is little ingenuity in."

The next letter, written from Lisneygarvey on 2 February 1652/53, is a very long one. Child had never received Hartlib's letters of 29 March and 20 April, which came when he was ill and were stopped by some of his friends at Dublin, so that he cannot tell what the 41 questions were that Hartlib had wished him to answer, and which he would have tried to answer, though Hartlib knows well how unfitted he is to do so, being where he has little help from books or friends, so that he must write "quicquid in buccam venerit." Hartlib's letter of 6 August he had received and answered,⁶ and he had also received from Hartlib "2 Germaine bookes Glaubers opus minerale."⁷ He will now keep a more constant correspondence with Hartlib, because Worsley, from whom he had lately had two letters, had promised to enclose Child's letters to Hartlib in the state packet. He has some "stubble" to send for the *Natural History of Ireland*, when it is wanted. In his Appendix⁸ Arnold Boate had been able to add much in respect of plants, animals, etc., to remedy the deficiencies he had noted in his brother Gerard's "History"; when Arnold

³ Probably his appointment as Secretary to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland; see Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 120, n. 2.

⁴ Though he had known Petty since at least as early as May, 1648; Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 98.

⁵ He is referred to as Sir Edward in the next letter.

⁶ On 23 November 1652; in that letter he acknowledged a letter from Hartlib of 7 August, not 6 August; but see n. 82.

⁷ Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I. 326.

⁸ To the second edition of Hartlib's *Legacy*, apparently.

has added his own observations, as Child supposes he intends to do, Child will see if he can add "a mite or two." The copy of the "Natural History" which Hartlib had sent him, Child had lent, after reading it over once and "but slightly," to a doctor in the neighborhood, and could not get it back, the doctor saying he had already returned it. He thought the book contained, for the most part, descriptions of harbors and havens, and he could not censure it much, though he had smiled when it spoke, in one place, of Mouse Hill for Sir Moses Hill,⁹ the father of Colonel Hill. He had now heard from Petty, and was glad he had arrived in that part of Ireland; Child expected to be in Dublin for the most part of the summer because Colonel Hill was returning there "for a long season." Of himself Child said: "What is naturall, either plants, earth, stones, minerals, I endeavour to know; and also what fame or superstition doth make more than naturall, I do observe." He had desired Petty, "though I suppose it needles to desire him who is curious," to note whatever was worth observing, "that we may by little and little perfectly understand these parts"; for there are some things in these places "worth a Philosophical pen."¹ Child himself thinks about these matters, but only when

⁹ Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 121.

¹ Hartlib embodied most of the things in Ireland "worth a philosophical pen" in his letter of 8 May 1654 to Boyle (Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 84). His account there is worth comparing with the following which Child wrote in his letter of 2 February 1652/53 to him: "there are some things worth a philosophical pen in these places viz. how it cometh to passe, that here are not frogs, toads, snakes, neither moale, nor nightingales, rarely magpyes, and how some kinds of fowles and beasts, we have not in England, as diverse hawkes, Cockes of the wood, Pintayles, wolves, black foxes, greyhound wondrous large, as also diverse plants, viz. maccamboys, sunaman maine[?], cane apples, also diverse fishes. further to enquire what truth there is concerning generation of barnacles, which much abound here, what vertue in the mosse of a dead mans skull, how it grows—also what vertue in St. Patricks well, about 16 miles from hence, as also of diverse things which the Irish foolishly report of Saint Patrick, also it were worth the while, strictly to examine their petrifying fountaynes, which abound in these parts, whither they transmute all woods, or only holly, as is commonly reported: whither turfe doth grow, how much and how, also concerning diverse Iles, in one of which its reported a dog will not live, and a woman cannot have children in—also of Lakes, some of which are accounted bottomless, another at certaine times casting forth yellow amber—also concerning stones like birds, which they say St. Patrick turned into stone for chirping, when he was preaching." Many of these "things" were listed in the "Interrogatory relating more particularly to the Husbandry and Natural History of Ireland," appended to the second edition of Hartlib's *Legacy*. Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 115–116 and 122, n. 2. Sir Thomas Browne referred several times in his writings to the (supposed) absence of venomous creatures in Ireland; in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (first published in 1646), Bk. VI, Chap. VII, he referred particularly to the absence of frogs, toads and serpents; see his *Works*, ed. S. Wilkin, 3 vols. (London, 1852), II. 79.

he hears from Hartlib, and since he cannot think of settling in Ireland, and letters seldom come to him, "I let such thoughts as soone dy, as they are born, and hope some other will undertake such things, and indeed lazines doth much possesse me, methinks, its best to be quiet." He was sorry to hear of Stirk's indisposition and to learn, from a short letter from him, of his misfortunes and of his having to leave St. James's, and he urged Hartlib and Dury to give Stirk some good advice. He had received one of Blith's books, sent by Hartlib, and is glad that Dr. Currar thrives in London, "for the man is reall and honest to his freind[s], and a very good chymist"; he remembers Currar telling him that his library, containing many manuscripts concerning Irish medicines, was in the hands of a minister in Cork belonging to the Army, whose name was not known to Child, but could be learned by Hartlib from Currar himself. Irish physicians and surgeons, in Child's opinion, were generally illiterate; but they knew and used constantly in decoction some plants that grow in Ireland and had recipes, obtained from their predecessors, for most diseases, many of which Child had collected but could not recommend "till experience confirme the truth."

Child then turned to answer Hartlib's letter of 7 August,² which had come with ten books, than which "scarce any thing is more welcome to me"; he rejoiced that husbandry and chemistry were flourishing so much and that clover grass was being sown everywhere "with wonderful encrease." According to Colonel Hill, Sir Edward Stafford's project, offered not publicly but only in discourse among his friends, was about copper, not tin mines, and Child supposes that, if it is of such great importance as Hartlib says it is, the Colonel will not have it commonly divulged, "for . . . he is very chary of his secrets"; besides, though he is unwilling to censure any man that is thought ingenious, Child does not admire Stafford's manuscripts, some of which he has read, as Colonel Hill does, but regards them as "speculations." He hopes Mr. Thicknes of Maulden, whom he loved very much for his ingenuity, is not dead. Another letter from Hartlib of 7 August, sent through Mr. Locke, with fifteen questions, he has never received. He does not need Glauber's book in Latin, as he understands it as well in High Dutch and "the translatour may more faile than I shall." As for Hartlib's friends thriving by means of Glauber's books on minerals,³ Child, who has read them lately, can-

² He says he received this letter on the day after his letter of 23 November was written. His reference in that letter to Hartlib's letter of 7 August (see n. 77) must therefore be a mistake for 6 August.

³ See n. 78.

not believe that Glauber will reveal the Alkahest to anyone, "though perhaps they may get some particulars from him, which may sufficiently enrich a moderate spirit." He hopes to try a wonderful, rich, iron stone, found in the neighborhood, when Colonel Hill moves, in two or three months' time, into his own house about four miles away, where there will be more convenience for the trial of minerals and for the advancement of husbandry. He can say nothing about Dr. Higgins,⁴ who was hanged at Limerick, which is too far off for him to have heard as yet, but Petty and Worsley, who are so much nearer, could probably tell Hartlib of his cures.

Child next answers Hartlib's letter of 9 October 1652. He would like to know who Silvanus Taylor is and what good there is in the book⁵ that he has written about enclosing commons and preserving timber. Child assents to the first part of the comment of Hartlib's friend on Hartlib's four questions,⁶ but doubts that *sal martis*⁷ is the *chalybs* of Sendivogius.⁸ A better method than Mr. Bacon's of sowing haws is to hoe them in, but haws are of little value, because enough of them can be got from the woods at four pence a hundred. He dislikes putting fruit trees into hedges and does not know what use would be made of so much barberry; he commends rather plum trees or paschnuts [?], as they do in Kent, or sweetbriar for pleasantness; but every man has his own way, for reasons best known to himself, and Child commends every man that is ingenious. He has shown elsewhere⁹ that the unbarking of boughs of trees in July and putting earth on them to make new trees is rather a way of spoiling good trees, for the boughs to be unbarked are principal branches, the trees they grow into are small, poor and not worth planting, and trees like the Kentish codling and sweeting, and all boyny [?] or trees with knots, will grow very well "without all this ceremony"; in his brother's orchard near Gravesend, grafted codlings are six times bigger than those grown from slips. The ordinary husbandry of the chalk lands of Kent, which extend sixty miles from London to Dover, is not to ridge the ground but to plough and harrow cross continually, and to lay not dung, but only

⁴ He was executed after the surrender of Limerick on 27 October 1651; S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656*, New Edition, 4 vols. (London, 1903), II. 124.

⁵ His *Common Good, or, the Improvement of Commons, Forrests, and Chases by Inclosure*, etc., was published at London in 1652.

⁶ Mentioned in Child's letter of 23 November 1652; see above.

⁷ My colleague, Dr. T. S. Stevens, thinks that ferrous sulphate is meant.

⁸ For Michael Sendivogius see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 364-370.

⁹ I do not find this in Child's "large letter."

mold or turf on the chalky banks. As for the experiment from Paris about steeping corn,¹ he had declared in his former discourse² that barley is steeped in Kent to take away all soil (except drake³) and also all light corn, further to accelerate growth, if it be sown late; pigeon dung, if added, may be as good as half a dunging; but what little strength the corn draws by this steeping cannot do wonders and, since, if all the salt, nitre, cow, sheep, and pigeon dung in this brine were put on the earth, it would not dung a quarter, "how can the extract do so much?" Child cannot see any great reason for it, unless "perchance there be some occult vivifaction of the spirits of the seed, which as yet I am ignorant of." To get 114 ears of corn from one⁴ was to him nothing, for he had had 140 of oats "without any steeping or such doings," but by a trifling art, which he would all the world did know, viz., by putting some broad thing like clods or tiles on the corn when it begins to spread, to make it spread, and by not letting any corn grow within a foot or a foot and a half of it; he had had more than 2,000 grains⁵ for one or of one "cut in the midst," and more than 100 in one case⁶ "without the steeping." His opinion of the second experiment with brine⁷ is the same as that of the first, but he adds four considerations: first, that "they are to blame who think to medicine the earth, as physitians doe the body, and

¹ This experiment is described in the third edition of the *Legacy*, 12-13, at the end, after 303.

² His "large letter"; *Legacie*, first edition, 48-49: "In Kent it is usual to steep Barly when they sow late, that it may grow the faster; and also to take away the soile; for wild Oates, Cockle and all save Drake will swimme; as also much of the light corne, which to take away is very good. If you put Pigeons-dung into the water, and let it steep all night, it may be as it were half a dunging."

³ Drawk.

⁴ An extract of a letter from Amsterdam, 28 November 1650, in the *Legacie*, first edition, 120-121, says: "From Paris I am advertised (for certain) of one, who did last year (1649) ferment one grain of wheat which this year hath produced him 114 Eares and within them 6000 graines, which is more than 80 Eares, and 600[!] graines of your English Friend's [i.e., Cressy Dymock, see n. 94]." The "secret" of this experiment is given, *ibid.*, 124.

⁵ In the *Legacie*, first edition, 120, Cressy Dymock, in a letter of 26 September 1650 describing one of his experiments, says: "Out of one single Barly-Corne is sprung about 80 Ears, of which neare 60 had, some 38, some 36, 34, 32, 30, and hardly any less than 38 [? = 28], which in all is above 2000 for one."

⁶ Cf. *Legacie*, first edition, 8, where Child had already claimed these results. Sir Thomas Browne considered the question of the hundredfold increase of grain in his *Miscellany Tracts*, I, section 31, *Works*, III. 174-178.

⁷ Described in the *Legacy*, third edition, 12-13, at the end, after 303. Experiments somewhat similar to this and to the one referred to in n. 90, including the suggestion of Gabriel Plattes for steeping grain in rain water and cow dung or saltpetre, had been described in the first edition, 124-125 and 128.

therefore add such variety of dungs, as cowes, pigeons, horse, sheep, as so many radices, folio, fructus, semina, and then add salt and nitre, as physicians doe ginger and mace, then a little lute⁸ and oxegall, as they do muske and ambergrease, then boyle and strayne, then Cape Colaturam, and dissolve ut prius. I for my part thinke that our ould grandame the Earth, ought not thus to be noursed, and suppose that there is more vanity in these than in the apothecaries bills"; secondly, nitre being dear, the crop will not pay charges, and *that* the countryman will consider, though the "projecting husbandman" do not; thirdly, an overcharged solution means that the undissolved material is wasted; and fourthly, the cause of fruitfulness is not only the *vita media* in dung. On the question of fruitfulness he has sent Hartlib a short discourse,⁹ "which is only to show you the difficulty of the question and to stir up some other to attempt it"; he has a larger discourse on the subject, not yet "thoroughly digested"; if he sends it with his next letter Hartlib is to add it where the three asterisks are in the margin,¹ or at the end. As for the result claimed for the experiment with brine, that one will reap an hundredfold, Child wagers that he could dig land, provided it were not extremely barren, and get the same increase "without all these slobber slops." The last experiment² he likes best, since it is the most probable, but he does not know how to get so much *sal terrae* as to supply everyone, nor how it could be extracted, nor how it differs from nitre;³ the grain, he supposes, will be excellent

⁸ This is what the word appears to be in the manuscript. It is printed as "salt" in the third edition of the *Legacy* (see n. 100); but this is probably a mistake, because the addition of salt had already been mentioned.

⁹ The discourse survives among Hartlib's papers as a sheet headed "Quaestio de fertilitate omnibus Naturae scrutatoribus indefessis proposita." An English translation, under the heading "A great Question concerning Fruitfulness. Offered to all ingenious Searchers of Nature," was published in the *Legacy*, third edition, 16, at the end, after 303. It is *not* the same as "A Philosophical Letter concerning Vegetation or the causes of Fruitfulness," printed in the *Legacy*, third edition, 217-219.

¹ Not found.

² Described in the *Legacy*, third edition, 13, at the end, after 303. The description is an English version of an account in Latin sent by Dr. George Horne of Leyden to Hartlib on 12 September 1652 and preserved among Hartlib's papers. Hartlib copied out the Latin version, and a further account of the experiment (drawn from Horne's letter to him of 15 September 1653, also preserved among Hartlib's papers) in his letter to Boyle of 28 February 1653/54 (Birch, *op. cit.*, vi. 82-83). Child's observations on this experiment and the other two referred to in notes 90 and 96 are printed in the *Legacy*, third edition, 13-15; they are taken, almost word for word, from Child's letter of 2 February 1652/53 to Hartlib.

³ To satisfy this desire of Child's to know how to extract *sal terrae* and how it differs from nitre, Hartlib obtained (cf. *Legacy*, third edition, page wrongly marked

and long lasting. He commends Blith "and the rest" very much, and will say more about them in his next letter. He has received Hartlib's last letter of 4 January. He has found more errors in his "large letter" on rereading it, and has added two or three more "deficiencies"; and "so have set my last hand to it, resolving never more to looke it over, better or worse, so let the world have it." He has sent another sheet in answer to Dr. Boate, and will send the rest ("two sheets more") the following week through Worsley. If Henshaw ever visits Hartlib, Child would like to know if his "college" still goes on. In a postscript he adds that "Sir Philom O'Neale the grand Rebell is taken, also the Iles of Arran, therfor the war ended."

The next letter, dated Lisneygarvey, 8 April 1653, begins by thanking Hartlib for the books sent on 1 March. He sends the conclusion of his answer to Dr. Boate, saying he "had much adoe to finish" it, partly through his own negligence. He has received Hartlib's letter of 21 March, but neither that sent in April nor Morgan's that was with it. He cannot as yet finish his discourse, *De Fertilitate*,⁴ partly through idleness, partly for want of books, and the subject is very difficult; perhaps he will go on leisurely with it, but he can promise no more than stubble for such a work. Boate is most able to go on with his brother's discourse about Ireland, "and I hope will hearken to reason"; if he wants it, Child will contribute what is as yet in his scattered papers, for he wishes to have it perfected. Stirk is not discontented with Hartlib or Dury, but only laments his misfortune in removing to St. James's to distil oils, which seemingly did not succeed as expected;⁵ Child begs Hartlib to continue his goodness to Stirk and to advise him for the best. Child will not be in London in the summer, as he had expected, but hopes to be there in the next spring and to stay there, "for my thoughts do not fix here, so remote from ingenuous men." He has had a long letter from Worsley.

On 7 July 1653, he wrote again to Hartlib, the only one in England

12, at the end, after 303) from three friends explanations which are printed as "expositions" in the *Legacy*, third edition, 17-23, at the end, after 303.

⁴ Apparently it was never finished.

⁵ In 1649 Dury and his wife were at any rate contemplating the making and selling of perfumes as a means of earning a living at St. James's Palace; Turnbull, *op. cit.*, 260-261, 267. Dury was appointed keeper of the books and medals at St. James's on 28 October 1650 (*ibid.*, 266), and Stirk may have begun to distil oils there soon after his arrival in England towards the end of 1650. He was certainly doing so in March, 1652, as Dury's letters to Hartlib show; but illness, apparently in April of that year, stopped the work, and it was perhaps when Dury returned from a mission to Sweden in July, 1652 (*ibid.*, 271), that Stirk had to leave St. James's, the news being conveyed to Child in Hartlib's letter of 6 August.

from whom he can receive a word or two, for "I have wrote to my other friends till I am weary, and therefore at present give over writing to them." If Mr. Royden fails as the bearer of the letters between them, they can scarcely correspond any more, which consideration causes him to throw the few observations which he has collected, "into some blind hole or other, from whence (perhaps) when an opportunity presents, I may take them forth." His poor gleanings would be better preserved for a second edition of Boate's work, "by which time I shall collect more experience whither I can adde any thing or nothing." He can add scarcely anything to what he has said in his "large letter" about bees;⁶ he supposes that "Butler⁷ and Leveret⁸ have done so much that little can be picked out of ould authors, and little added by new." Yet Hartlib does well to go forward, "for dayly new things are found out not known to the ancients, and indeed this kind of creatures may be very beneficiall and pleasant to the true managers of them." His treatise, *De Fertilitate*, lies, as at first, "rude and undigested"; he cannot readily find and digest it, for they are moving to a new house; but it will serve for the next edition, "though indeed I cannot heartily goe about it, because I shall be so paradoxicall, and further, I want bookes and other necessarys to polish any treatise, and therefore it will only be as stubble." Sir John Clotworthy, to whom Child is beholden for his love through Hartlib's commendations, is returning to London.

The last letter is from Dublin, 28 October 1653. Mr. Royden not having brought an answer from Hartlib, Child suspects that he did not visit Hartlib; "I perceive that he is dayly more negligent of my letters." Worsley has promised to forward Hartlib's letters to Child if they are enclosed in those to him. Child thanks Hartlib for "Mr. Austine booke,"⁹ sent through Mr. Moore. There is nothing to communicate to Hartlib, "these places being wholly busied in stating debentures, displanting the Irish and Scots, and settling English plantations." If Leader is in London, Hartlib is to ask him to write to Child an account of New England, "as concerning the Dutch, and how far the iron works (of which I should be a partner) do thrive." Worsley and Petty "are about a physick garden, and I suppose, will desire your assistance therein." He encloses a letter to Morgan.

⁶ Cf. *Legacie*, first edition, 63-69.

⁷ Charles Butler wrote *The Feminine Monarchie, or a Treatise concerning Bees and the due ordering of Bees*, 1609.

⁸ Child probably means John Levett, who wrote *The ordering of Bees*, 1634.

⁹ *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*, by Ralph Austen, published in 1653.

In the *Ephemerides* for 1652 there are five entries concerning Child which do not seem to be touched upon in his letters. First, Pell tells Hartlib that great quantities of damsons were wont to be produced in Ireland, and doubtless will be again, and that therefore Child, who "affirms the making of Damsin wine," should be reminded of this. Secondly, Dr. Fittens, of Essex, a friend of Child, and now dead, made an index of Helmont. Thirdly, Johannes Norwegus, according to Child, had become chaplain to the King of Denmark, and is "a fit correspondent." Fourthly, Child told Hartlib that Appellius had a way of making beer without malt or hops,¹ some of the ingredients being "Ella Campana² and the refuse or that which is left³ after the sugar is refined." Fifthly, Child claimed to have several recipes for making marbled paper.

Kittredge suggests⁴ that Child died between February and May, 1654, because Child is mentioned, obviously as alive, in Hartlib's letter to Boyle of 28 February 1653/54, but referred to as "the late Dr. Child" in Hartlib's letter to Boyle of 8 May 1654.⁵ We may assume that Boyle would have known if Child were already dead when he wrote on 10 January 1653/54 from Youghall to Hartlib the letter⁶ which Hartlib answered on 28 February 1653/54, and that similarly Hartlib would have known when he wrote to Boyle on 28 February. Though Boyle and Child were not in direct communication with each other, as appears from Child's letters to Hartlib already quoted, Boyle was at the time in such close touch with people like Worsley and Petty, who knew Child and were in Dublin near Child at the time, as to be informed by them immediately of Child's death. As for Hartlib, we do not know when he received Child's letter of 28 October 1653, the last written by Child to be found among Hartlib's papers, nor when he replied, if he did, nor whether Child ever wrote him again; but Child's last letter, of 28 October 1653, from Dublin, speaks of "our loving freinds Mr. Worsley and Dr. Petty" being there, and they would no doubt tell Hartlib of Child's death. Moreover, Sir Cheney Culpeper, writing to Hartlib on 25 February 1653/54, mentions Child's letter of husbandry, but does not say "the late" nor that Child is dead. Kittredge, therefore, is probably right in his suggestion about the time of Child's death.

Kittredge points out⁷ that John Winthrop the younger did not hear

¹ In his "Answer" to Dr. Boate in the third edition of the *Legacy* (1655), 142, Child wrote of making beer without malt; cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 110.

² My colleague, Dr. T. S. Stevens, suggests that *Enula campana*, i.e., *elecampane*, is meant. ³ Molasses, presumably. ⁴ *Op. cit.*, 122.

⁵ Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 80, 81, 82 and 85. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 123; the letter is printed in 1 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XVI. 212-214.

of his friend Child's death until Hartlib told him of it, in a letter of 3 September 1661, as having occurred "about 3.⁸ yeares agoe." Among Hartlib's papers there is a letter from Winthrop to Hartlib, dated 25 October 1660, which says: "I find in your book the legacy of Husbandry mention of my name in a letter,⁹ which hath no name to it but I guesse it to be Dr. Rob. Child, of whom I should willingly understand whether yet inter vivos for I feare he is dead because I have not heard from him these many years." Hartlib had sent him, on 16 March 1660, a copy of the *Legacy* in quarto, probably of the third edition of 1655, along with other books and manuscripts, which Winthrop listed and acknowledged in a letter of 25 August 1660.

Child's "large letter" to Hartlib forms the bulk (pages 1-108) of the first edition, 1651, of "Samuel Hartlib his Legacie" on husbandry. None of the rest of this book, which runs to 131 pages, excluding three pages at the beginning containing Hartlib's address "To the Reader" and Sir Richard Weston's "Legacy to his sons," seems to have been contributed by Child. Child wrote the "large letter" in haste, as he says in his letter to Hartlib of 13 November 1651, when he wanted to review it, "that I may partly adde and mend what is amisse"; in his next letter of 26 (probably) February 1651/52, he repeated his wish to amend the errors in the "imperfect" "large letter" and to add some things to it, "if it be worth the reprinting." But it must have been reprinting even before Hartlib received, on 3 February 1652, the first of these two letters from Child, because Hartlib's letter of 15 December 1651 must have conveyed that news to Child. Yet the printing cannot have been completed before 3/13 January 1652, the date of the last letter from Arnold Boate contained in the Annotations which follow the "large letter" in the second edition. It must have been completed very soon after that, however, for by 8 April 1652 Child had received from Hartlib "the packet," presumably of copies of the second edition, and was commenting on it.

This second edition has in "An Appendix" two main additions to what is contained in the first edition. The first addition is entitled "Annotations upon the Legacie of Husbandry" and consists of extracts from ten letters written by Arnold Boate to Hartlib from Paris between 1 July 1651 and 3/13 January 1651/52. The second has as title-page "An Interrogatory relating more particularly to the Husbandry and Natural History of Ire-

⁸ I wonder if the 3 is not a misreading of an 8 written by Hartlib; it would be worth while comparing this figure with the other two threes in the letter, which is presumably in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁹ Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 112, where the "mention" is quoted from the third edition of the *Legacy*, 133-134.

land," and consists of "The Alphabet of Interrogatories," of twenty-five pages, the subjects of the questions, drawn up apparently by Arnold Boate, being arranged in alphabetical order. Hartlib obviously intended the answers to serve as material for the completion of Gerard Boate's *Ireland's Natural History*, first published in 1652. A letter¹ from Hartlib to Child, placed at the beginning of "An Appendix," asks him to "look upon this Alphabet of Interrogatories, and consider what Answers your observations will afford unto them; or what you can learne from the observations of others to clear them." Child's letters show that Arnold Boate was being urged by Hartlib to undertake the completion of his brother Gerard's work on *Ireland's Natural History*. Child himself acknowledged the receipt of the Interrogatory on 23 June 1652, and his letters of that date, and of 29 August 1652, 2 February 1652/53, 8 April and 7 July 1653, show that he was gathering "stubble" of certain kinds for it. Among Hartlib's papers there are sheets dealing in alphabetical order with various topics ranging from "Galls" to "Wood," the same topics as are contained in the Interrogatory, and in the same order, though some in the Interrogatory are not dealt with. I think it very likely that these sheets are some of the "stubble" contributed by Child to Hartlib.

On 23 June 1652 Child wrote to Hartlib that he could easily answer the contents of Boate's "Annotations" and amend errata, and would do so, and also make additions, if a third edition were to be made. On 23 November he sent amendments² for his "large letter" and a sheet in answer to Boate. On 2 February 1652/53 he sent a short discourse about fruitfulness,³ more corrections for his "large letter," two or three more deficiencies to be added,⁴ and another sheet in answer to Boate; and on 8 April 1653 he sent the conclusion (two more sheets according to his letter of 2 February) of his answer to Boate. This answer, though only of four sheets apparently, must be "An Answer to the Animadversor on the Letter to Mr. Samuel Hartlib of Husbandry," which occupies pages 132-172 of the third edition of the *Legacy*, published in 1655, and is placed immediately after Boate's "Annotations" (pages 118-132). Apart from the "large letter" and this answer, Child made one other contribution

¹ Quoted in part by Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 108-109.

² Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 103, n. 1, and 110, n. 1, indicates changes made in the "large letter" for the third edition.

³ See n. 98 above.

⁴ Probably included in the third edition, 91-92 (where he writes of the destruction caused to crops by crows, rooks, rats and mice, and of the failure to plant saffron, hops, etc.) and on 93-95 (where he mentions a great deficiency in the storing of corn and indicates remedies).

to the third edition, viz., "Observations and Animadversions upon the foregoing secrets or experiments."⁵

Hartlib, as was his wont, passed the annotations on the "large letter" written by Boate in his first two letters from Paris, of 1 July and 12 July, respectively,⁶ on to Dr. William Rand for *his* comments, which are duly recorded in a letter of 1 September 1651 from Rand at Amsterdam to Hartlib, found among Hartlib's papers. Child does not mention Rand's comments in his letters, so perhaps Hartlib never passed them on to him; and they do not seem to have been incorporated at all in the second or third editions of the *Legacy*.

Hartlib's papers, besides throwing much light on the topics which have just been considered, give us some information on three other matters mentioned by Professor Kittredge, viz., Child's possession of a book by William Petty, the identification of Eirenaeus Philalethes with Stirk, not with Child, and the Child family.

According to Kittredge⁷ there is a copy of William Petty's *The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some particular Parts of Learning* in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which may have been a present from Hartlib to the younger Winthrop. Hartlib certainly sent Winthrop a copy on 16 March 1660,⁸ and the latter acknowledged its receipt in his reply of 25 August 1660, calling it "Advice for advancement of some parts of learning, in 4^{to}"; and this may be the copy to which Kittredge refers.

Kittredge discusses⁹ the identity of the mysterious chemical adept called Eirenaeus Philalethes and comes to the conclusion that he was not Robert Child, as has been sometimes supposed, but George Stirk. A few points in that discussion can be illuminated from the information concerning Child and Stirk contained in Hartlib's papers. First of all, the "freind in Scotland who hath perfected Helmont's menstruum," mentioned in Child's letter to John Winthrop the younger of 13 May 1648, appears to have been one "Carmihill" or "Carmehel," perhaps Carmichael, whom Child mentioned to Hartlib in 1649 and whose name occurs in a letter from Cheney Culpeper to Hartlib.¹ Secondly, the conjecture of Kittredge² that nothing is more probable than that Child knew Robert Fludd seems to

⁵ Printed on 13-15, at the end, after 303; see n. 100 above. The "experiments," for steeping corn, are also printed there, 12-13.

⁶ Printed in the *Legacy*, third edition, 118-120.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 98, n. 4.

⁸ Hartlib's letter of this date, and Winthrop's reply, are among Hartlib's papers.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 129-146.

¹ See above, under 1649, and n. 15.

² *Op. cit.*, 129.

be wrong.³ Thirdly, the statement that Eirenaeus Philalethes, or Stirk was twenty-three years of age in 1645⁴ does not tally with Stirk's age as given in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for 1650, when Stirk was twenty-two years of age. Fourthly, Kittredge gives⁵ Stirk's pseudonym as Eirenaeus Philoponus Philalethes. A copy of a letter⁶ from Stirk to Johannes Morian, of 30 May 1651, ends thus: "A Philalethâ Philopono Hermeticae Scholae Chemiatrâ indignissimo tibi devotissimo Ad obsequium, Honoremque syncerum exhibendum, Georgio Stirkio." About Stirk, Hartlib's *Ephemerides* record, from Child, that "he can fix Mercury (1650)," that he "hath the Helmontian Alkahest or a Liquor (1650)," and that "his is not yet that Universal Alkahest but it is an approximation (1651)." Child's letters say about Stirk: "I believe he hath already tould me his Alkehest, I am glad if it prove soe";⁷ "if he have the Alkahest as I hope he hath, he hath enough whithersoever he goes."⁸ There is nothing here to suggest that Stirk got the elixir and the manuscripts on chemistry from Child, and that therefore Child was Eirenaeus Philalethes. So far as Hartlib's papers go, therefore, Kittredge's argument against this identification is borne out.

Kittredge says⁹ that Child's father, John Child, appears to have had a comfortable estate, probably at Northfleet in Kent. Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for 1653, however, contain the following entry, made in June, between the 7th and 22nd: "Mr. John Child, Mr. Child's father living in the Isle of Ely a Councillour of the Inner Temple but a great Husbandman for Cattel his wife makes a most admirable kind of butter far exceeding the ordinarie way. For she makes it without setting the milke for creame thus. The milke so soon as it is come from the cove must bee strained then churned, as usually creame is done. Also the cheese made of the Buttermilke will bee better than the best two-meale cheeses that you ever did eate. And one pound of this Butter shal be worth a pound and a halfe of your best Butter which is made of creame.¹ Probatum. This I had from Mr. Childs hand, whose father keepes 30 or 40 servants by reason of the great number of Cattel in which hee deales. Dr. Francius² fellow of

³ See above, under 1650, and n. 24.

⁴ Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 135.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 134, n. 4.

⁶ Found among Hartlib's papers.

⁷ Letter of 23 November 1652.

⁸ Letter of 2 February 1652/53.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 4 and n. 4 there, and 5, n. 4.

¹ A sheet containing this recipe in Hartlib's hand lies among his papers. Hartlib sent the information to Boyle on 28 February 1653/54 (Birch, *op. cit.*, vi. 83), and printed it in the third edition of his *Legacy*, 263.

² John Francius, a refugee from Silesia; cf. J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Pt. I (Cambridge, 1922), II. 172.

Peter-house is very well acquainted with him and continually resorts to their house. For hee have most excellent Bier of 3 or 4 y[ears] old which the Dr. loves. Also their cheeses some of them of 2 y[ears] old are very renowned which they give away as a rarity. For they are very singular and delicate. The Countesse of Arundel was a mighty suiter and lover of them."

The Mr. Child just mentioned and described by Hartlib as John Child's son may have been the Major John Child about whom Kittredge gives a good deal of information,³ though Hartlib never gives him that title, nor indeed refers to him as other than Mr. Child.⁴ The reference in 1650 to Dr. Child's "brother and cozen" planting nurseries of fruit trees near Greenwich has already been mentioned above; likewise the reference in the same year to Dr. Child's opinion that his brother had become one of the best husbandmen in England. The *Ephemerides* for 1653 record that Mr. Child told Hartlib of a method used in Norway for pickling mackerel;⁵ of an Englishman, Gore of Amersford,⁶ "an arch-Cavallier, but so drunken a sott that he is no ways dangerous," who used logwood as an indelible dye, and whom Mr. Child was trying to get over into England; of one Banks, a clerk in the Excise Office, who could write backwards "with great expedition"; of his and Hartlib's joint opinion that if Otto Faber,⁷ who says that "the English are to conquer all other nations," be a true Adeptus, he should come to England and reveal it; of his telling Culpeper that the abele tree is really the white poplar,⁸ which is plentiful in England, and that the lime tree is a fast grower and provides useful timber. The *Ephemerides* for 1655 record from Mr. Child that Gore had come to England and that Mr. Child was to give Hartlib a further account of Gore's art of dyeing with logwood; later, that Gore had gone

³ *Op. cit.*, 4, 45-47, 84, 93-98.

⁴ I have assumed, on what seems to be sufficient evidence, that when Hartlib quotes Mr. Child in his *Ephemerides*, he does not mean Robert Child, whom he usually refers to as Dr. Child or occasionally as simply Child; and I have assumed that for Hartlib there is only one Mr. Child.

⁵ Cf. above, under 1650, for Dr. Child's promise to get Hartlib an Italian recipe for preserving mackerel in oil and spices.

⁶ Amersfoort, in the Netherlands.

⁷ He seems to be "that famed pretender in France" mentioned by Hartlib in his letter to Boyle of 28 February 1653/54 (Birch, *op. cit.*, vi. 79). He is mentioned in 1661 in the correspondence between Hartlib and John Worthington (J. Crossley, *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. J. Worthington*, 3 vols., Chetham Society Publications, 13, 36, 114 [Manchester, 1847-1886], II. 6, 54), and a letter from him to Hartlib among the latter's papers shows that he was in London in that year.

⁸ See above, n. 46.

to Norwich, but that one Bigs claimed to know Gore's secret, but would only reveal it if paid £20 in advance and allowed a half share in the profits.

APPENDIX

Sr

Boston this 24th Decemb. 1645.

Though the times be so exceeding cold, that Inke and pen freeze extreame-ly, and colder weather scarce knowne in this country yet I wil write a word or two to you according to my promise, though I cannot inlarge my selfe as I would, or as you expect: by the next opportunity I shall be more large, and desire you to pardon my brevity. This country of New England from Virginia southward to the french northward at Penobscott is about 6 or 700 miles along the sea coast. Towards the South at a place called Delaware bay live some Swedes about an hundred, and likewise some few Hollanders, which hinder the English from planting there, though some 20 familyes from Mr. Davenports plantations attempted to settle there. This river is a very great river, very fruitfull, and will contayne more people than all New England beside. I suppose this place for health and wealth the best place the English can set there foot in. if any leave the Kingdome I pray counsell them to this place, and many here will joyne with them who have seen the place. About an 100 or 120 miles from this place is a river called Hudsons river, a very great river navigable about 200 miles up, here live about 2 or 300 Hollanders and English under the protection of the West Indy Company. here hath bin warres betweene the Dutch and Indians 3 or 4 years which hath almost ruined the plantations. but now peace is concluded: this place is poore, subsists especially by bever trade with the Indians. The West Indy Company thought to have built ships here, and for that end erected 3 great saw mills, and also to have made it a magazin for victualing of their ships, but missing of their ends, they neglect it and count it a burthen, for its chargable unto them, and therefore have not sent any supplyes hither these 2 yeares, yet the States will not permit them to sell it. There is a rumor of a gold mine found here, some say its naturall cynabar or ☿⁹ with a few golden spangles. I shall (God willing) next spring see it, and by my next give you a further and certayner relation. About 20 miles from this river eastward begin the English plantations, and continue along the coast about 400 miles or more: The whole number of the English is about 40000 people, divided into 6 iurisdictions and into 80 plantations or there about. I could tell you the names of all of them, there situations, and number of familyes, but it would be too tedious to you to heare: the first iurisdiction southward is Mr. Davenport or Mr. Eatons, contayning about 10 plantations. I wonder Mr. Davenport hath not written to you, when I see him I shall inquire the Reasons, he is the strictest man for the church covenant, and admitting of members in N. England. These plantations flourish indifferently well in corne and cattle, and have build 2 or 3 good ves-

⁹ Mercury.

sels, which they imploy, and intend, as I heare, to send one of these vessels for London this year. The next jurisdiction is Connecticut river, where Mr. Hooker lives contayning 5 or 6 good plantations, exceedingly abounding in corne. the last yeare they spared 20000 bushell, and have already this yeare sent to the bay 4000 bushell at least of new corne. these are the fruitfull places in all new England: 3^d jurisdiction [is] Rhoad Ile and Narragenset bay: there is some controversy about it, for the bay¹ got a patent for it from the Parliament, and the inhabitants likewise, who most of them are banished men, yet rich and the place fruitfull. I am sorry, they should suffer more, having suffred twice banishment for consciences sake, first in England, secondly in the bay patent, for mayntayning liberty of conscience, and not approving there Covenant, which I confess I stumble at. if you can doe them any good by your freinds in Parliament you shall doe well. this place abounds with corne and cattle, esp. sheep there being nigh a 1000 on the Ile. it contaynes 4 plantations. 4th jurisdiction is Plymouth, an ould Patent contayning 10 or 12 plantations. the land is barren, the people very poore, but moderate men. 5 jurisdiction is the Bay patent, a great Patent and is usually called New England, richer and greater than all the rest, contayning about 30 or 40 plantations, indifferently fruitfull: Here they are exceeding bitter against Anabaptists, and other that differ from there rules, enacting lawes banishing and punishing all schismaticks, as they call them, yea counting banishment nothing. I know a captaine that came over in the last ship. who had spent his bloud and estate in the Parliaments service not permitted to live above 3 weekes with them, although nothing spoken on shoare, only in the ship he endeavoured to defend Dr. Crispes sermons, who is counted an Antinomian. I suppose you have read him, but if not, pray doe it, and let me know your iudgment. I suppose truly the Dr. writes nothing but truth. 6th and northmost jurisdiction is S^r fferdinando Gorges, or Mr. Rigbys a Parliament mans, wherein are 10 small plantations, where I have purchased a small plantation at Sacho, and shall settle there, if I abide in these parts, for I cannot endure the bitternes of the other plantations. This place abounds in fish and timber.

We are here (God be thanked) in peace, yet in August the whole country was in armes 560 souldiers pressed, as in England, to goe against the Indians Narragenset, and a declaration printed, which if I can find, you shall have it, but the poore Indians submitted to the English demaund: gave 500^{lb} in there monneys, and 4 of their chiefest mens children for hostages, which are to be educated civilly: the ffrench towards the north threatened those plantations because the bay relieved one Mons^r La Torre against Mons^r La Donne,² who having 4 men of war from France and 2 or 300 souldiers, besieged La Torres fort, and tooke it, where he did put about 50 English and French to the sword. the bay sent an Embassador to M^r Le Donne, for to be at peace, but he returnes answeare,

¹ Massachusetts.

² The rivalry between Charles de Menou, Sieur d'Aulnay (Dony) de Charnisay and Charles de Saint-Étienne de la Tour is referred to in *Winthrop Papers*, IV, 1638-1644 (Massachusetts Historical Society, 1944), *passim*.

he will have satisfaction for iniuries, and is not content, though he tooke a barque laden with provisions worth above 600^{lb}, yet he promiseth not to meddle with them, till he heare from France. We have victuals here reasonable cheape, beefe at 2½^d per pound, porke at 3^d, wheat at 3^s 6^d, ry at 3^s, Indian grayne at 2^s 6^d, pease and barley at 4^s, and we hope things will be cheaper dayly. Cloathing is scarce, yet flax is sown here in abundance, and hempe, likewise leather of all sorts increaseth dayly. in former years much cotton was spun here, but this last yeare none came from the West Indyes, so that if cloathing had not come from England, they had bin much streightned. they yearly build many ships, hoyes,³ catches,⁴ and go on with there fishing, I suppose they catch nigh 10000^{lb} worth of codd, basse, and sturgeon, and some are about herrings and salmon which are plentiful here.

The country abounds with minerals, esp. Iron stone. we have discovered about 10 or 12 severall sorts, which I have sent to M^r Bucknar an apothecary at Bucklarberry⁵ and to D^r. Merrick⁶ dwelling there, where you may see them, if you please, and other stones, which promise better things, and I hope, will not deceive us, though yet we have made no experience of them. I doubt not (by the grace of God) but we shall prosper in Iron works, and make plenty of iron spedily. Truly, I suppose, that all things would prosper in this place, if they would give liberty of conscience, otherwise I expect nothing to thrive, and indeed the merchants here have had very great losses, and nothing goes on merrily, but every day we have breach upon breach, both in Church and Commonwealth, between magistrate, ministers people members non-members. and truly things cannot stand thus long but all will be [lost]. The non-members who are most in numbers, as rich and valiant [as] other thinke themselves enslaved here, not having liberty to bear office, or give a vote, in choosing either minister or magistrate, neither are they permitted to have ministers, as they thinke fitting, to have there children baptized or to receive the sacrament, though many have lived here many yeares and pay taxes (which here are very great) equall if not more than members, are prest for souldiers, and there goods taken on publicke faith by force (which is in worse credit here than in England). On the other side the members doe all at their pleasure, and from the premises you may draw a conclusion. The Colledge at Cambridge goes on indifferently well, every yeare some graduates proceed, the library pretty well filled with bookes, buildings encrease, the President hath a fair house newly built, likewise there is a Presse erected. I have bin there but once, and care not for medling with them, for truly I cannot doe anything cheerefully here, till things be better ordered in Church and Commonwealth. The winters here are very cold, nothing can be

³ Small coastal vessels.

⁴ Ketches.

⁵ A street near the Mansion House, London. For the history of the name, cf. John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. W. J. Thoms (London, 1842), 97-98.

⁶ Christopher Merret.

done comfortably without stoves, which God willing we shall procure next yeare. the summer is hot enough for vines, I suppose; Apples and Cherrys, Peaches, Apricocks, with all sorts of garden ware [?] flourish incredibly heere. Well, to conclude, the unseasonableness of the weather causeth me to huddle up things rudely; but by my next expect things better ordered. I have sent diverse seeds to D^r Merrick, and shall yearly send more over to him, if I can doe you or any of your freinds any service here in that busines or any other pray let me beg imployment, and be so happy as to have some correspondence with you, that we may have some light in these dark corners. At this present with my love to you and all our freinds, I take my leave

Your loving freind Robert Child.

Mr. Winthrop the elder every day writes particular passages of the country in a great book which he freely communicates to any and saves me a labour in this kind, who intended the same busines. at Boston, which is the great towne in New England contayning about 400 familyes is lately erected a free schoole, by putting 40^{lb} per annum upon the drawers of wine in this place, and other wayes. Mr. Leader, in whose house I sojourne at Boston, remembers his love to you, and desires to be excused for his neglecting writing according to his promise.

Yours Rob^t. Child.

Annual Meeting

November, 1947

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Friday, 21 November 1947, at a quarter after seven o'clock in the evening, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The President announced the death on 18 May 1947 of MILTON ELLIS, a Corresponding Member; that on 24 June 1947 of EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, a Corresponding Member; that on 23 July 1947 of LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, a Resident Member; that on 9 September 1947 of FREDERICK MORTON SMITH, a Resident Member; that on 29 October 1947 of HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE, a Resident Member, and that on 16 November 1947 of LINCOLN COLCORD, a Corresponding Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Most Reverend RICHARD J. CUSHING, the Right Reverend NORMAN BURDETT NASH and Miss ALICE BACHE GOULD accepting Honorary Membership, and from Mr. JOSEPH BREED BERRY, Mr. CHARLES HENRY POWARS COPELAND, Mr. SARELL EVERETT GLEASON, Mr. GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS, Mr. MARK DEWOLFE HOWE, Mr. FREDERICK MILTON KIMBALL and Mr. CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The Reverend FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS, of Lancaster, and Mr. KENNETH JOHN CONANT, of Cambridge, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Report of the Council

IN the past year the Society has held, as usual, three stated meetings: on 19 December 1946 at the Club of Odd Volumes; on 20 February at the house of Mr. Samuel Eliot Morison, and on 24 April at the house of Augustus P. Loring, Jr. The attendance has been about the same as in previous years.

The following members have been elected to the Society:

Resident:

JOSEPH BREED BERRY
CHARLES HENRY POWARS COPELAND
SARELL EVERETT GLEASON
GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS
MARK DEWOLFE HOWE
FREDERICK MILTON KIMBALL
CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH

Honorary:

RICHARD JAMES CUSHING
ALICE BACHE GOULD
NORMAN BURDETT NASH

In the autumn of 1946, Mr. Forbes indicated his wish to retire as Editor, after fifteen years of devoted service, during which he had been responsible for volumes 27, 28, 31, 32, 33 and 34 of the Society's Publications. Consequently on 19 December 1946 the Council appointed Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill to succeed Mr. Forbes as Editor. Wartime restrictions upon the use of paper had prevented the printing of any volumes since 1943, but Mr. Forbes had been actively at work in preparing manuscripts for future publication and consequently four volumes are now in various stages of completion. These are *Transactions* (1943-1947), a volume of Maine land-grant papers (which Mr. Allis has been editing), the Massachusetts Council records from 1689 to 1698, and a fourth volume of Harvard College Records. A supply of rag paper is now on hand, and these volumes will be issued as the Society's funds and the Editor's time permits.

The Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly*, copies of which are sent to all members who desire them.

During the year we have lost by death eleven members, an unusually large number.

CHARLES FRANCIS MASON, Resident, 1896, died 28 February 1947. He was the senior member of the Society in order of election and received our greetings at the time of our last annual meeting. Bursar of Harvard University for thirty-four years, long an officer of the Watertown Historical Society and Moderator of the First Church of Watertown, established in 1630.

ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN, Corresponding, 1926, died 13 December 1946. During his membership he held the presidency and other high offices in the New York Life Insurance Company. While previously living in Massachusetts, he was a leader in banking and served as a Trustee of Clark University, Wellesley College, the Worcester Art Museum, and the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, Resident, 1921, died 3 February 1947. An eminent historian who migrated from New Haven to Cambridge. Oliver Cromwell became his lifework, but he was able to give odd moments to peopling the past with shady and entertaining characters like Colonel Blood, stealer of the British Crown jewels.

BENTLEY WIRT WARREN, Resident, 1936, died 27 February 1947. A distinguished Boston lawyer, he served as Trustee of Williams and Radcliffe Colleges and the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and had an important part in many public activities in Massachusetts.

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Corresponding, 1915, died 24 June 1947. A teacher of history at the University of Illinois and at Columbia University, his publications were especially concerned with the colonial period.

FREDERICK MORTON SMITH, Resident, 1939, died 9 September 1947. An officer in various Boston wharf companies, he assisted in carrying the maritime traditions of Massachusetts into the present day.

HERMANN FREDERICK CLARKE, Resident, 1934, died 29 October 1947. A banker and collector, who devoted his leisure to the study of colonial silversmiths, he was the author of books on John Coney, Jeremiah Dummer, and John Hull.

LINCOLN COLCORD, Corresponding, 1940, died 16 November 1947. The sea was in his blood. Born off Cape Horn in a bark, after boyhood he was cast away by fate on the shore of Penobscot Bay, where he looked for the vessels that had sailed by in former years and reviewed the maritime adventures of other men. Escaping from our landlocked age, he shipped in the *Ptarmigan* with the historian of Columbus for a stormier passage to the

West Indies than Columbus ever knew. His monument is the Penobscot Marine Museum at Searsport and in the hearts of his fellow-voyagers.

MILTON ELLIS, Corresponding, 1933, died 18 May 1947. A professor at the University of Maine, he was, as Managing Editor of the *New England Quarterly*, intimately associated with the projects of this Society.

LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, Resident, 1916, died 23 July 1947. A patient scholar, the biographer of John Endecott, John Winthrop, John Wentworth and other colonial leaders, he was engaged, at the time of his death, in preparing a fourth volume of Harvard College Records for publication by this Society.

ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, Resident, 1931, died 21 January 1947. As Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society and as Editor of this Society's publications for fifteen years, he was a scholar of meticulous accuracy and a valued friend to all who concerned themselves with the New England past. A central figure at all gatherings of this Society grave or gay, we shall miss him sorely. *Ave atque vale!*

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1947.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 14 NOVEMBER 1947

ASSETS

Cash:

Income	\$11,913.26	
Loan to Principal	<u>10,449.46</u>	\$1,463.80

Investments at Book Value:

Bonds (Market Value \$138,098.51)	\$139,537.04	
Stocks (Market Value \$116,028.00)	85,205.75	
Savings Bank Deposit	<u>3,244.70</u>	227,987.49
TOTAL ASSETS		<u><u>\$229,451.29</u></u>

FUNDS

Funds	\$212,482.33
Unexpended Income	<u>16,968.96</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u><u>\$229,451.29</u></u>

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, 14 November 1946		\$12,375.78
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RECEIPTS:

Interest	\$2,901.26	
Dividends	4,945.90	
Annual Assessments	800.00	
Sales of Publications	57.00	8,704.16
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		\$21,079.94

DISBURSEMENTS:

New England Quarterly	\$2,600.00	
Editor's Salary	1,375.00	
Secretarial Expense	800.00	
Annual Dinner	589.95	
Storage	300.76	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	141.70	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	92.32	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Publications	1,533.26	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
General Expense	175.10	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	300.40	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Prin- cipal	1,109.19	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		9,166.68
BALANCE OF INCOME, 14 NOVEMBER 1947		\$11,913.26

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended 14 November 1947, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

WILLARD G. COGSWELL

ARTHUR S. PIER

Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD

Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT

Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

Member of the Council for Three Years ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER

Member of the Council for One Year ROBERT EPHRAIM PEABODY

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Admiral R. A. Spruance, Rear Admiral M. L. Deyo, Captain J. B. Heffernan, Captain H. B. Hudson, Lieutenant Commander Henry Salomon, Jr., Messrs. Samuel Chamberlain, Henry Forbush Howe, David McCord, Richard W. Leopold, Carleton R. Richmond, Dwight C. Shepler, Sidney T. Strickland, Vernon D. Tate and Thomas J. Wilson. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

After dinner Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read the Mayflower Compact, and Admiral R. A. SPRUANCE, President of the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, addressed the Society and its guests.

December Meeting, 1947

A STATED Meeting of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 18 December 1947, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from the Reverend FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS, of Lancaster, and Mr. KENNETH JOHN CONANT, of Cambridge, accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, a Resident Member since 1931, and the Hon. ROBERT FISKE BRADFORD were elected Honorary Members, and Mr. SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN, of Marblehead, Mr. JULIAN LOWELL COOLIDGE, of Cambridge, Mr. BARTLETT HARDING HAYES, Jr., of Andover, Dr. HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, of Cohasset, Mr. CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND, of Milton, and Mr. SIDNEY TALBOT STRICKLAND, of Plymouth, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

Mr. CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED read a paper entitled:

Extortion, Captain Turner, and the Widow Stolion

I

IN the year 1825 James Savage, reviewing the trial of Robert Keayne for extortion in 1639, wrote: "... the attempt to prevent demand of high price for any commodity, however willing the purchaser may be to give it, is preposterous and destructive to all commerce between man and man."¹ Fifty-nine years later the English economist Thorold Rogers said, "In the middle ages, to regulate prices was thought to be the only safe course whenever what was sold was a necessary of life, or a necessary agent in industry. Hence our forefathers fixed the prices of pro-

¹ John Winthrop, *"The History of New England"* [Journal], (Boston, 1825), I. 314ⁿ.

visions, and tried to fix the price of labour and money. . . . That we have tacitly relinquished the practice of our forefathers is, I repeat, the result of the experience that competition is sufficient for the protection of the consumer. But I am disposed to believe that, if a contrary experience were to become sensible, we should discredit our present practice, and revive, it may be, the past, at least in some directions."²

The opinions of these two men are quoted here as a reminder (if a reminder be necessary), of the changed attitude towards government regulation of industry within a comparatively short time. With a new economic structure of society has come the fulfilment of Professor Rogers' prediction. The laissez-faireism of men like Savage has been tossed out of the window.

The measures that have been taken to control labor and commerce in the United States during recent years are not new. They revert in principle to the mediaeval statutes to which Professor Rogers referred. They also, which more closely concerns us, follow attempts along these lines made by the Bay colonists of Massachusetts. Government control of wages, prices and profits in the United States today raises questions that are still debated, but, as has often been said, in New England three centuries ago no one dreamed of challenging the right of magistrates to dictate the wages paid to workmen, the prices set on commodities and the percentage of profit allowed to merchants. The fifty or more orders on these subjects passed by the Massachusetts courts between 1630 and 1650 show how important they were thought in that colony. Reading these measures for the first time one is surprised to see the extent to which they were aimed at wage-earners. Winthrop repeatedly declaims against the exactions of laborers. Labor legislation in Massachusetts began with an order of the Court of Assistants passed at its first session in August, 1630,³ which placed a ceiling on wages and became the forerunner of laws now in force, more favorable to the worker.

The subject of wages, however, enters only incidentally into the following account of Captain Turner, and it has nothing to do with Turner's complaint against Mrs. Jane Stolion. In these subjects, extortionate profits in trade is the economic background. Turner's relations with Mrs. Stolion are in themselves unimportant, but Turner was a useful man and an appreciation of his services to both the Bay Colony and New Haven is overdue. Mrs. Stolion is another pack of goods. A hard and grasping

² J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (New York, 1884), 139, 140.

³ *Records . . . of Massachusetts Bay . . .* (Boston, 1853-1854), I. 74.

shopkeeper, no religionist, I wonder what visions of gain lured the widowed Jane to trust her life and goods to the bleak Atlantic and her future to an association with the censorious followers of John Davenport.

The words "extortion" and "oppression" were in common use in early New England. They were used interchangeably, chiefly to indicate either the excessive wage-demands of laborers or the excessive profits of shopkeepers, especially in circumstances where the buyer's necessity gave an undue advantage to the seller of services or of merchandise. Practices of this sort have been condemned as immoral or anti-social from the times of Moses and the Hebrew prophets. Saint Paul wrote in one of his letters to the Corinthian church: "... if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat."⁴ A dictum less exclusive but wider in scope and carrying a greater weight of authority to the Massachusetts puritan of 1630 was the Levitical injunction: "And if thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another."⁵ Today, the words oppression and extortion have other meanings. Here, they are only used as men like John Cotton and John Winthrop would have understood and applied them.

An illustration of these remarks is supplied from New Haven by the defendant's response to a charge of slander printed in the Town Records, 2 November 1658:

Jo. Thompson, being warned to the Court to answer Tho. Morris in an action of defamation, Tho. Morris being disabled to attend the Court by reason of sicknes, Gervase Boykin his Attorney declared that the said John Thompson had spoken reproachfully concerning the said Tho. Morris; he being at Jeremiah Osburnes, they speakeing to him of the dearness of commodities, he answered, how could they be otherwise when workemen take so deare for their worke, instancing Tho. Morris, who demanded as he said 5^s a day, & Goodman Peakins 3^s a day. Another time being at Sargeant Jefferies, he said that he was a 100^l the worse for Tho. Morris, and that he had opprest him, and that he had not walked according to rules of righteousness towards him, with other bad words. . . .⁶

II

At the height of the immigration tide in 1635 complaint was made in Boston that goods brought for sale by the emigrant ships were excessively

⁴ 1 Corinthians, v. 11.

⁵ Leviticus, xxv. 14.

⁶ *New Haven Town Records* (New Haven, 1917), I. 365. Cotton Mather has some remarks on oppression in his *Magnalia* (ed., 1855), II. 398-399.

priced. It is not clear that this grievance was chargeable to the adventurers who owned the goods or to the shopmen who bought them for resale in the town. Either way, the transactions on shipboard bred disorder. Winthrop hints at the doings on these occasions. Their precise nature can only be conjectured, but as the imported merchandise was greatly needed, a crowd of shopkeepers and thrifty householders doubtless competed for it; and, we may imagine, the riffraff of the town came along to carouse with the sailors and join in their rowdy songs.

Conduct of this sort was not tolerable in Massachusetts and the General Court took action for its suppression. On the fourth of March an order was passed to prohibit all purchases from the ships except under license from the Governor. A partnership-committee was appointed with authority to board the vessels and purchase such goods as were judged "to be usefull for the country," these to be stored "in some maggasen, neere to the place where the shipp anchors," and for twenty days offered for sale "after v^l per centum profitt, & not above."⁷ Nine men [from Cambridge, Charlestown, Dorchester, Ipswich, Roxbury, Salem, Saugus and Watertown] were selected to supply the necessary capital and put the measure into effect. Captain Nathaniel Turner [of Saugus] was first on the list of those named.

The scheme did not work and after four months' trial the prohibitory order was cancelled.⁸ On which, it may be presumed, the committee disposed of the goods that were piling up in its warehouse and shut up shop. Eight months later, in modified form, the order was revived.⁹ The new order omitted the provision for a sales agency and the prohibitions were limited to the purchase and resale of "provision of victualls." Evasions of this act followed, however, and at the next General Court it, too, was repealed.¹ Winthrop sums up the business in his journal. He says: "For preventing the loss of time, and drunkenness, which sometimes happened, by people's running to the ships, and the excessive prices of commodities, it was ordered, that one in each town should buy for all, etc., and should retain the same within twenty days at five per hundred, if any came to buy in that time. But this took no good effect; for most of the people

⁷ *Records of . . . Massachusetts Bay . . .*, I. 141-142.

⁸ *Id.*, 149. ⁹ *Id.*, 166.

¹ *Id.*, 174. A transaction in which Winthrop's "brother [Hugh] Peter" bought at a round profit to its owners the consignment of provisions on a ship ("the Charity, of Dartmouth") that arrived in Boston in 1636, illustrates a phase of the existing conditions. Peter's purchase, for benefit of the Colony towns, included thirty-nine hogsheads of meal, twenty-five of peas, eight of oatmeal and forty of malt. This, Winthrop says, "saved the country £200."

would not buy, except they might buy for themselves; and the merchants appointed could not disburse so much money, etc.; and the seamen were much discontented, yet some of them brought their goods on shore and sold them there."²

Although these measures failed they might have been taken for a warning to those traders, whether forestallers, engrossers or regrators³ whose operations seriously increased the price of commodities. Imported goods were urgently needed, not only for the original settlers of the Bay Colony, but also for newcomers whose rapidly increasing numbers were causing inflation. Nevertheless, the evil of oppressive prices grew, bearing fruit five years later in the notorious case of extortion in which Robert Keayne, the leading shopkeeper of Boston and founder of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was the defendant.

In the attempt to suppress extortion in Massachusetts, Nathaniel Turner, of whose English antecedents I have no information, is seen to have been an agent.

From the fact that Turner applied for admission as a freeman in the Massachusetts Company in October, 1630, it has been inferred that he was one of the Winthrop company that came over in the summer of that year. He settled at Saugus (renamed, Lynn) and in 1632 was made a

² Winthrop, "*History of New England*" [Journal] (Boston, 1853), I. 192.

³ "A Forestaller is he, that buyeth or causeth to bee bought, or maketh contract or promise for the having or buying of any victuall or wares, comming by land or water towards any Faire or Market to be solde, or comming from beyond the Sea towards anie Citie, Port, Haven, Creek, or rode of this Realme, to bee solde, before the same shalbe in the Faire or Market, Citie, Port or Haven readie to be sold: Or that by any meanes maketh motion to any person for enhauncing the price of the same: or that doth dissuade, moove, or stirre any person (comming to the market or faire) to forbear to bring any of the same to any faire, market, citie, Port, or haven to be sold.

A Regrator is he that regrateth or getteth into his possession, in any faire, or market, any corne, wine, fish, butter, cheese, candles, tallow, sheepe, lambes, calves, swine, pigges, geese, capons, hennes, chickens, pigeons, conies, or other dead victuall whatsoever brought to any faire or market to be sold, & selleth the same again in any faire or market kept there, or within foure miles thereof.

An Ingrosser is he that ingrosseth or getteth into his hands by buying, contract, or promise taking (other than by demise, lease or grant, of land or of tithe) any corne growing in the fieldes, or other corne or graine, butter, cheese, fish, or other dead victuall, within England, to the intent to sel the same againe. But such as doe buy barley or oates (without forestalling) and turne the same into malt or oatmeale, and sell it again: and such victuallers of all sortes, as buy victuall (without forestalling) and sell it by retaile againe, and Badgers and Drovers (being lawfully licenced and not abusing their licences) are excepted. So be al buyers of wines, oiles, spices, and other forraine victualles brought from beyond sea hither, except fish and salt onely, 5. Ed. 6. cap. 14: 5. Elizab. ca. 12: 13. Elizab. cap. 25." William Lambard, *Eirenarcha: or of The office of the Justices of Peace* (London, 1594).

freeman. His residence in New England was about equally divided between Massachusetts and New Haven. In Massachusetts he was employed in various colony affairs. His services there may be briefly summarized.

In 1634 he was named Captain of the military company at Saugus. In the years 1634–1636 he was a Deputy to the General Court. He was appointed to the Salem Quarterly Court 1636–1637. He was a member of various committees for establishing boundaries. One of the committee for building fortifications at Castle Island, Charlestown, and Dorchester, he contributed £10 towards the Castle Island “Sea fort.” His name is the twelfth on the earliest membership list of the Military Company⁴ and he was one of the four Massachusetts commanders under Endecott in the military excursion that began the Pequot War. Underhill, in his narrative of this affair at Block Island in 1636, tells of Turner’s alertness and courage in the irregular fighting with the natives. He says that on one occasion “Captain Turner stepping aside to a swamp, met with some few Indians and charged upon them, changing some few bullets for arrows,” by which “Himself received a shot upon the breast of his corselet, as if it had been pushed with a pike, and if he had not had it on, he had lost his life.”⁵

After Endecott and his command returned to Boston late in 1636 Turner did not stay long in Massachusetts. Two years had not passed before he joined the company of recent comers from London to the Bay, who, under the leadership of John Davenport and his wealthy parishioner Theophilus Eaton, without colonial status made a settlement at the mouth of the Quinnipiac River in Connecticut.

From the time when Turner came back from Block Island to the day that he left Boston for good, eighteen months elapsed. What he did during some of this time is a mystery. The historian of Lynn says that in 1637 he took part in the campaign in which the Pequot tribe of Indians was destroyed.⁶ Convincing evidence to fortify this statement is lacking. The

⁴ This body, “The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company” of today was gathered not later than February, 1638. It was licensed by the General Court 8 June but did not receive full recognition until 13 March 1639 when, designated as “the Millitary Company of the Massachusetts,” its powers were defined and provision for its support was made through a grant of 1,000 acres of land. Winthrop, *“The History of New England”* [Journal], I. 305; *Records of . . . Massachusetts Bay . . .* I. 231, 250–251.

⁵ Underhill, *Newes from America* (London, 1638), in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 6.

⁶ Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn* (Boston, 1829), 61.

question is debatable and will not be discussed here.⁷ It may be mentioned, however, that on 17 May 1637, the day on which Israel Stoughton was put in command of the Massachusetts troops taking part in the Pequot expedition, Turner was appointed to a committee for providing men, munitions and provisions for the campaign.⁸

Several reasons why he left Massachusetts may be suggested. Turner had considerable ability in both civil and military affairs and in material things he was well-to-do above most of his neighbors. If, as may be imagined, Turner entertained ambitions, he could have seen little opportunity in the Bay Colony for the advancement that his intelligence, military skill and soundness in the puritan faith warranted, for, there, in the words of Trumbull, "the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of government which they were likely to keep."

Another circumstance may have prompted Turner to emigrate. Some of the Bay towns were becoming over-settled. From Saugus, Turner's neighbors were leaving, one group going to Long Island and another to Cape Cod.⁹ John Cotton, then in the curious, if not awkward situation of lodging his friend, Anne Hutchinson, under duress, while he entertained her inquisitor, John Davenport, beneath the same roof—John Cotton himself (though for a different reason) was toying with the thought of moving to Quinnipiac.¹

But there was a more important consideration than either of these. Turner was orthodox and the congregations about him were in turmoil. They were, in the words of the hymn

. . . by schisms rent asunder, by heresies distrest.

In Saugus the church was divided by the recent ministry of the Reverend Stephen Bachelir. Scarcely two years had passed since Salem and Boston were at odds over Roger Williams; and now, just as Eaton and Davenport were about to lead their followers to the shores of Connecticut, Boston almost to a man (and woman) was infected with the theo-

⁷ Those parts of the records of the time that give color to Lewis's claim may be studied by any who are interested. Pertinent passages can be found in Winthrop, *"History of New England"* [Journal], I. 254; *Records of . . . Massachusetts Bay . . .*, I. 112, 175, 190-191, 195, 197, 232; *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, I (Salem, 1911), 5, 7. Besides these references the accounts of the Pequot War given by contemporary writers should be consulted.

⁸ *Records of . . . Massachusetts Bay . . .*, I. 195.

⁹ *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth . . .*, I. 57, 89; Hubbard, *General History of New England* (Boston, 1815), 244-245.

¹ Winthrop, *A Short Story . . . 1644*, in *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, C. F. Adams, Editor (Boston, 1894), 225, 361, 388.

logical vagaries²—the “schismatical singularities”—seditiously promulgated by Mistress Hutchinson. Surrounded by these manifestations of discord in the most vital affairs of the Bay Colony, it is not surprising that Turner, whose house had been destroyed by fire not long before, threw in his lot with Davenport’s people. Skilled as he was in the use of arms, the founders of New Haven found in Turner a valuable recruit.

III

Just when Turner and his family left Massachusetts is not known.³ Probably they were in the company that sailed for Quinnipiac on 30 March 1638. It is certain that Turner was domiciled in New Haven when the settlement there was organized in 1639. He was one of eleven men appointed in June to the foundation work of the church; in October he was elected Deputy to the New Haven Plantation Court. The following year, having been chosen Captain of the Guard, brother Turner’s position as one of the top-notch men in the quasi-colony was assured.⁴

Eaton and Davenport, the leaders of the infant community in which Turner was now established, were described by Cotton Mather as the “Moses and Aaron” of New Haven. The men who led their followers to the Canaan of New England were—again Mather—“as holy and as prudent and as genteel persons as most that ever visited these nooks of America.” Their plan was to settle in Massachusetts but for several reasons it was decided to seek another place. Quinnipiac, an Indian town at the mouth of the river of that name in Connecticut, was chosen, its commodious harbor being a prime consideration.

² On the antinomianism controversy, Cotton Mather remarks: “’Tis believed, that Multitudes of Persons, who took in with both Parties, did never to their dying Hour understand what their *Difference* was; . . . Nevertheless there did arise in the Land a *Distinction* between such as were under a COVENANT OF WORKS, and such as were under a COVENANT OF GRACE; . . . The Disturbance proceeded from thence into all the General Affairs of the publick: the Expedition against the *Pequot-Indians* was most shamefully discouraged, because the Army was too much under a *Covenant of Works*; and the *Magistrates* began to be contemned as being of a *Legal Spirit*, and having therewithal a tang of *Antichrist* in them. . . .” *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), book VII, 14.

³ Turner had six children, whose names with some facts concerning them are given in Savage’s *Genealogical Dictionary*. Three of these children are also mentioned (one, discredibly), in the New Haven Town Records. Of Mrs. Turner little appears beyond the information that after the death of her husband she was married to a Dutchman, Samuel Van Goodenhausen, admitted as a free burgess of the town in 1647. Goodenhausen’s name frequents the town records, some of the references being concerned with the inheritances of his step-children.

⁴ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven* (Hartford, 1857), 16, 21, 40.

It is not necessary to emphasize the commercial side of the settlement. Davenport, the religious leader (who also participated in some commercial undertakings), planned to establish a rigid church order, with legislation based on the Code of Laws for Massachusetts,⁵ compiled by his friend Cotton, for which the Word of God was fundamental authority, while Eaton, the Governor, and his fellow-merchants, looked for a speedy and profitable return on their capital. Though the conduct of their enterprises probably differed in no way from the general practice of the day, the development of a commercial spirit "taken up with the income of a large profit" was criticized by a contemporary writer,⁶ whose censure points to what has been called "the 'perpetual dilemma' of the religious community in secular society," the "in the world but not of the world," of New Testament teaching. Though the tender conscience of Edward Johnson led him thus to rebuke the merchants of both New Haven and Massachusetts it is highly improbable that these men were aware of a variance between the precepts of religion and their commercial ambition. Yet the spiritual dangers of their circumstances were apparent to Davenport when he preached his first sermon (the substance of which has not been preserved) from Matt. iv: 1, "Then was Jesus led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." How an attempt to enforce the code of ethics set forth by John Cotton in connection with the Keayne extor-

⁵ Isabel M. Calder, "John Cotton and the New Haven Colony," *New England Quarterly*, III (1930), 82-94.

⁶ Captain Edward Johnson, who attributed the loss of ships voyaging on commercial ventures to "the correcting hand of the Lord upon his N. E. people." He writes: "... the Lord was pleased to command the wind and Seas to give us a jog on the elbow, by sinking the very chief of our shipping in the deep, and splitting them in shivers against the shores; a very goodly Ship called the Seaforce was cast away . . . : as also another ship set forth by the Merchants of New-haven, of which the godly Mr, *Lamberton* went Master, neither ship, persons, nor goods ever heard of . . . with divers others which might be here inserted; this seemed the sorer affliction to these N. E. people, because many godly men lost their lives, and abundantly the more remarkable, because the Lord was pleased to forbid any such things to befall his people in their passage hither; herein these people read, as in great capital letters, their suddain forgetfulness of the Lords former received mercy in his wonderful preservation, bringing over so many scores of ships, and thousands of persons, without miscarriage of any, to the wonderment of the whole world that shall hear of it, but more especially were the Merchants and traders themselves sensible of the hand of the Lord out against them, who were in some of the ships, and had their lives given them for a prey. . . . *Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England*, W. F. Poole, Editor (Andover, 1867), 214-215.

It is of interest to find a somewhat similar criticism by Francis Parkman, who in an introductory note to *Pioneers of France in the New World* says that in early New England "in defiance of the four Gospels, assiduity in pursuit of gain was promoted to the rank of a duty, and thrift and godliness were linked in equivocal wedlock."

tion case in 1639⁷ would have been regarded by the traders of Boston, or of New Haven where Cotton's Code of Laws proposed for Massachusetts was taken as a pattern, is an interesting speculation.

New Haven received its name by designation of the General Court in September, 1640. Excepting a seaport of that name on the Solent (whose association with the Quinnipiac settlers, if any, I have not discovered) the name is not found in England, but its general significance, indicating "a place of shelter, safety or retreat"; the "happy harbour of God's saints" is obvious.

In its early days the New Haven settlement, as has been said, looked to Massachusetts for leadership, particularly in legislation. Yet the first wage and price order passed by the New Haven court was more comprehensive in scope and detail than any similar measure adopted in Massachusetts up to that time.⁸ In June, 1641, less than eight months after

⁷ The "rules of direction" suggested by Cotton for such cases, as quoted by Winthrop, are:

Some false principles were these:—

1. That a man might sell as dear as he can, and buy as cheap as he can. 2. If a man lose by casualty of sea, etc., in some of his commodities, he may raise the price of the rest. 3. That he may sell as he bought, though he paid too dear, etc., and though the commodity be fallen, etc. 4. That, as a man may take the advantage of his own skill or ability, so he may of another's ignorance or necessity. 5. Where one gives time for payment, he is to take like recompense of one as of another.

The rules for trading were these:—

1. A man may not sell above the current price, i.e., such a price as is usual in the time and place, and as another (who knows the worth of the commodity) would give for it, if he had occasion to use it; as that is called current money, which every man will take, etc. 2. When a man loseth in his commodity for want of skill, etc., he must look at it as his own fault or cross, and therefore must not lay it upon another. 3. Where a man loseth for casualty of sea, or, etc., it is a loss cast upon himself by providence, and he may not ease himself of it by casting it upon another; for so a man should seem to provide against all providences, etc., that he should never lose; but where there is a scarcity of the commodity, there men may raise their price; for now it is a hand of God upon the commodity, and not the person. 4. A man may not ask any more for his commodity than his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth thus much. "*The History of New England*" [Journal], 1. 381-382.

⁸ In preparing this order the New Haven Court doubtless had before it (in manuscript form) Cotton's draft of laws for Massachusetts. Paragraphs one and three of Cotton's chapters on "Commerce" read: 1. First, it shall be lawful for the governor, with one or more of the council, to appoint a reasonable rate of prizes upon all such commodities as are, out of the ships, to be bought and sold in the country. 3. To the intent that all oppression in buying and selling may be avoided, it shall be lawful for the judges in every town, with the consent of the free burgesses, to appoint certain selectmen, to set reasonable rates upon all commodities, and proportionably to limit the wages of workmen and labourers; and the rates agreed upon by them, and ratified by the judges, to bind all the inhabitants of the town. The like

the first General Court convened, that Court passed an order of considerable length in which hours of labor and rates of pay for services were dictated. Laborers, planters, mowers, boatmen, thatchers, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, bricklayers, coopers, ship-carpenters "and the like" found their daily wages fixed. The price of building material, such as planks, clapboards, shingles, lime, etc., was prescribed. Piecework also was included. As house lots in New England were generally enclosed⁹ and the protection of field crops from depredation was of major importance, the paragraph in which the charges allowed for fencing are fixed is quoted below as a specimen of the regulations adopted in this comprehensive statute.

Fenceing with pales, as houslots, now are, for felling and cleaveing posts and rails, crosscutting, hewing, mortising, digging holes, setting up and nailing on the pales, the worke being in all the parts well wrought and finished, not above 2^s a rod, butt in this price pales and carting of the stuffe not included. Fencing with 5 railes, substantiall posts, good railes, well wrought, sett upp and rammed, that pigs, swine, goates and other cattell may be kept out, not above 2^s a rod. Fencing with 3 railes, good stuff, well wrought and finished, not above 18^d the rod.¹

The measure from which these provisions are taken was not concerned with wages and prices alone. The hand of Captain Turner appears in an earlier section where the profit on imported goods is determined. On transactions at retail three pence to the shilling was the limit except "when bought from ships or other vessells here" in which instance "not above three obulus in the shilling by retale, nor above a peny in the shilling by wholesaile" was permitted.² Although this order did not prohibit ship-board purchases it is evident that Turner had not forgotten the futile attempt to stamp out forestalling which had been assigned to him when in Massachusetts.

All of these regulations of wages, prices and profits were repealed by

course to be taken by the governor and assistants, for the rating of prizes throughout the country, and all to be confirmed, if need be, by the general court. 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, v. 180.

An order that dealt with wages, prices and oppression was adopted at Hartford in 1639. That order was less comprehensive than the New Haven enactment. "Hartford Town Votes 1635-1716," *Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc.*, vi. 27-28, 82.

⁹ The eight original divisions of land (now bounded by York, Grove, State and George streets) that surrounded New Haven's Market Place would call for nearly a thousand rods of fencing.

¹ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 37.

² *Id.*, 35.

the General Court in 1642,³ and so far as the records show, when Turner laid the charge of extortion against an elderly New Haven shopkeeper in 1645, no statute expressly mentioning extortion or oppression was in force. Had the defendant in the case so pleaded, the New Haven Court might have quoted the Mosaic ordinances which, being dictated by God, were of fundamental authority. That these ordinances were so regarded was clearly stated by the General Court for the Jurisdiction at New Haven in 1644 when it was "ordered thatt the judicall lawes of God, as they were delivered by Moses, and as they are a fence to the morrall law . . . shall . . . be a rule to all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceeding against offenders. . . ."⁴ No one familiar with the Mosaic code and the early New England courts will doubt that extortion would be treated by any of those courts as a breach of the moral law.⁵

It was in such conditions that Turner brought his complaint against Mrs. Stolion.

Having made Turner's acquaintance we will introduce his adversary.

IV

Jane Stolion was the daughter of William Edwards, a yeoman of Mayfield in Sussex, England. Her husband, dead long before she emigrated to America, was Thomas Stolion of Buckstye.⁶ About the year 1640 Mrs. Stolion arrived in New Haven with her son Abraham, leaving another son and a daughter in London; and having rented a house on Chapel Street began business there. Mrs. Stolion, like Captain Turner, her antagonist, possessed considerable means.⁷ Her trading was on a larger scale

³ *Id.*, 61.

⁴ *Id.*, 130.

⁵ Extortion was, however, forbidden by law not long after. In the New Haven Code of 1655 a paragraph headed "Oppression" reads:

"To prevent, or suppress much sin against God, and much damage to men, which doth, and may grow by such as take liberty to oppress, and wrong others, by taking excessive wages for work, or unreasonable prises for commodities: It is Ordered, That if any shal offend in either of the said cases, upon complaint and proof, every such person shal be punished by Fine, or imprisonment, according to the quality and measure of the offence, as the Court shal judge meet." *New-Haven's Settling in New-England. And Some Lawes for Government* . . . (London, 1656).

⁶ John Comber, *Sussex Genealogies, Ardingly Centre* (Cambridge, 1932), 191.

⁷ In 1659, "Mrs. and Mr. Stolion's estate" was a creditor of Stephen Goodyear's estate in the sum of £478-08-01. *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven* (Hartford, 1858), 306. Mrs. Stolion had property, real and personal, in England, as her will, signed 9 April 1640, shows. *The American Genealogist*, xvi. 138-140. In fairness to the widow's reputation it should be said that on the death of her husband, which occurred several years before her emigration, she "medled not with

than that of a dame's penny shop. The charges against her in the extortion case show that she was avaricious in her dealings. She was not a member of the New Haven church. An inkling of her character may be gathered from the New Haven court records. On one occasion Mrs. Stolion was granted an order against a slanderer. At another time arbitrators were called to settle her difference with "Mr. Eliz. Goodman." In 1644 an order was issued for payment of a debt due her. In 1646 a special order rated her for taxes.⁸ Even more illuminating than these sidelights on Mrs. Stolion's affairs are the charges produced in her quarrel with Turner.

The Stolion case arose from a matter of little moment. The difference between the widow and Captain Turner was in itself a trifling affair. Mr. Stolion had some cloth which Turner agreed to buy. Barter being usual, the Captain offered in exchange, a cow. The bargain was practically completed when, for reasons which will appear, the Captain welshed. He not only welshed, but with a prudence dictated by the circumstances, he dispatched his servant with an oral message to the widow.

Captain Turner has been called "New Haven's Miles Standish" and there is more than one parallel. Longfellow has recited in familiar verse the Plymouth captain's faintheartedness before a pretty maiden. Turner, who like Standish feared no foe so long as the foe was an Indian, was afraid to face the visage of an angry shopkeeper.

It is said that a woman always has her weapon ready. Mrs. Stolion's weapon was her tongue. She had a double grievance. Turner's decision to repudiate their deal affected her purse. The captain's failure to justify his action in person silenced her *apparatus belli*.

But if the widow was thus debarred from the exercise of her tongue before Turner himself, the story was told to her customers who quickly retailed it about town. In a small community gossip flourishes, and it may be imagined that New Haven's market place with its grisly decoration of a murderous Indian's head buzzed with feminine excitement. For Turner all this talk meant loss of face and to the military leader of the colony loss of face was unbearable.⁹

any part of his estate, further than her owne joynture extended." These matters are detailed in a letter from Theophilus Eaton to John Winthrop, 30 October 1648. *4 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 350-353.

⁸ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 56, 80, 147, 186, 199.

⁹ Turner lived on Church Street between Elm and Wall Streets. Mrs. Stolion's shop was on the southerly side of Chapel Street at or near the High Street intersection. Within the central area of New Haven at this time there are said to have been some 100 families.

The desire to retaliate injuries to oneself is not an amiable trait but it is pretty firmly planted in human nature. Turner had not attained the virtue of disregarding aspersions. Moreover, the temptation to revenge himself on the widow was strengthened by the present opportunity. Many of his neighbors had suffered from Mrs. Stolion's exorbitant prices and were willing to give their testimony of her exactions. Determined on reprisal, the injured captain therefore collected evidence of the widow's oppressive dealings with her customers, and thus armed, laid his complaint before a friendly court. From this point the record will take over. The entry, of dated 3 December 1645, reads:

Captayne Turner informed the court that Mrs. Stolion hath complayned to sundry persons that he made a bargaine with her for cloth for which shee accepted cowes; but was disapoynted to her great damadge, & therfore he desired she might shew what cause he had given her soe to doe.¹

Mrs Stolion pleaded that the captayne came to her howse to buy some cloth, chose a peece of 20^s a yard, and said he would have sixe yards of it, and Mrs. Stolion should have a cow, and both agreed to have her prized by some indifferent men; the captayne said alsoe that he had neede of more cloth & commodities to the vallew of 12^l & told her she should have 2 cowes, and she said when her son came home he should come & chuse them; accordingly when her son came home he went to the captayne, chose 2 cowes, and when he came home he tould her the captayne would come the next day & speake with her, but came not according to his promise, and though she sent to him yet he came not.

The captayne said he did really intend to have had some cloth and that she should have a cowe, and when Mr. Stolion came to chuse one of the best cowes he had, and Mr. Stollion told him he might as well let his mother have 2 cowes, for she had neede of cowes and the captayne had need of cloth and commodities, whereuppon the captayne let him chuse another cow & set him a prise, namely, 12^l. Mr. Stolion said he would give but 10^l, the captayne told him he would abate 10^s. Mr. Stolion said he would give noe more but 10^l, they parted and the captayne promised he would come and speake with his mother, but because he could not well goe to Mrs. Stolion, & haveing heard of the dearnes of her commodities, the excessive gaynes she tooke, was discouradged from proceedinge, & accordingly bid his man tel her he would have none of her cloth, and naming sundry perticuler instances of commodities sold by her at an excessive rate, left it to the consideracion of the court whether she had not done him wronge

¹ Although no law concerning sales contracts existed, either in New Haven or Massachusetts, it seems probable that a formal complaint by the widow would have received favorable attention by the court. In the Bay Colony records (I. 309), there is this entry 29 October 1640, "Attachment was granted to Thomas Fowle against Thomas Owen, to attach such goods as are in his possession, for performance of his bargaine of corne."

in complayning of him, and if she might not be dealt with as an oppressor of the commonweale.

The court conceyved the captayne was to blame that he did not goe to her according to his promisse, espetially that after he heard she was unsatisfied he did not attend her satisfaction, but withall that the captayne might justly offer it to the consideration of the court whether such selleinge be not extortion, and not to be suffered in the commonwealth.²

1 The captayne complayned that she sold some cloth to Wm Bradly at 20^s per yard that cost her about 12^s, for which she received wheate at 3^s 6^d per bushell, and sold it presently to the baker at 5^s per bushell who received it of Wm Bradly, only she forbaring her monny 6 monthes.

2 That the cloth which Leiut Seely bought of her for 20^s per yard last yeare, she hath sould this yeare for 7 bushells of wheate a yard, to be delivered in her chamber, which she confest.

3 That she would not take wompon for commodityes at 6 a penny³ though it were the same she had paid to others at 6, but she would have 7 a penny, as Thomas Robinson testified.

4 That she sold primmers at 9^d apeece which cost but 4^d here in New England. Thomas Robinson testified that his wife gave her 8^d in wompom at 7 a penny, though she had but newly received the same wompom of Mrs. Stolion at 6.⁴

5 That she would not take beaver which was merchantable with others at 8^s a pownd, but she said she would have it at 7^s and well dryed in the sun or in an oven. Leiut. Seely, the marshall & Isaacke Mould testified it. John Dellingham by that meanes lost 5^s in a skinne (that cost him 20^s of Mr. Evance and sold to her,) viz^d 2^s 6^d in the waight and 2^s 6^d in the price.

6 She sold a peece of cloth to the 2 Mecars at 23^s 4^d per yard in wompom, the cloth cost her about 12^s per yard & sold when wompom was in great request.

7 That she sold a yard of the same cloth to a man of Connecticott at 22^s per yard, to be delivered in Indian corne at 2^s per bushell at home.

8 She sold English mohejre at 6^s per yard in silver, which Mr. Goodyeare and Mt. Atwater affirmed might be bought in England for 3^s 2^d per yard at the utmost.

9 She sold thridd after the rate of 12^s per pownd which cost not above 2^s 2^d in old England.

10 That she sold needles at one a penny which might be bought in old England at 12^d or 18^d per hundred, as Mr. Francis Newman affirmeth.⁵

² Only eight months before Captain Turner had himself been a defendant (with two others) in a charge of "extortion or sinfull unrighteousness in the prices of leather." The complainant failed, however, to make good his charge. *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, I. 161, 163.

³ The rate fixed by the General Court at New Haven, 23, 8mo., 1640.

⁴ Wampum, of inferior quality, currently passed at a reduced rate.

⁵ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 174-176.

With this presentment of Mrs. Stalion's alleged extortions Turner rested. He was, perhaps, content that in a measure attention had been diverted from himself. After all, the broken agreement concerned only two persons. The effects of the widow's extortions, however, were felt in every house in the town. Again the record.

The Court seriously weighing all the perticulers chardged agaynst Mrs. Stalion, conceived that the nature and aggravations of the aforesaid chardges was proper for a court of magistrates to consider off, and therefore respited and refferred it to the Court of magistrates to be held at Newhaven the last Munday in March next.⁶

In the latter part of February following this decision the General Court, or town meeting, levied a tax on the three shopkeepers of New Haven, Mrs. Stalion being one of them. Besides the ostensible reason for the order there were probably others. Popular resentment against extortion was doubtless one. The repeated distress call of the town treasurer, whose funds were exhausted, was another. The record supplies a third:

For that some of considerable estates & tradeing doe live in the towne & have hitherto injoyed comfortable fruite of civill administrations & chardges, themselves in the meane time haveing small or noe rates, it is ordered that hence forward all such shalbe rated from time to time as this court shall judge meete. And for the present Mrs. Stalion is ordred to pay after the rate of 20^s a yeare to the treasurer, Mr. Godfrey 20^s a yeare [etc].⁷

Nothing more of the Stalion case is known as the records of the New Haven Jurisdictional Courts (which would include the Magistrates' Courts) for a period that would cover March, 1646, are lost.⁸ If a substantial fine was imposed on Mrs. Stalion the result may have affected her health. Death was at hand. On 25 May the session of the General Court was interrupted by a message for Mrs. Stalion's trustees. It is recorded that

Mr. Goodyeare & Mr. Robert Newman being desired to goe to Mrs. Stollion who lyeth very weake & thought her change draweth nigh, they had leave to depart the court.⁹

And so departed Mrs. Stalion,¹ her body to the earth of the neighboring

⁶ *Id.*, 176.

⁷ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 199.

⁸ *Id.*, IV.

⁹ *Id.*, 241.

¹ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 307. Mrs. Stalion's son Abraham was not with his mother at her death. Having been sent to England on her affairs in 1645 he did not return until late in the year 1646. His conduct as admin-

Green; her soul to await the Judgment of the Great Assize. Turner's death also occurred about the same time. The circumstances that led to his untimely end are these.

The colony—to use that common but inaccurate designation of the New Haven settlement—auspiciously founded by men of wealth, had not prospered as was expected. Its capital was dwindling. Currency was extremely scarce. The trade that had been developed with the West Indies, Virginia, Manhattan, New England and across the seas was insufficient to supply the community's needs. A profitable commerce with England had not been established.² Moreover, the so-called colony had neither charter nor patent. The New Haven settlers had no title to their lands other than those secured from the natives through the agency of Captain Turner.

These being the conditions, late in 1644 it was voted to send a representative to England for the purpose of soliciting a patent from Parliament.³ A small vessel was built; a cargo of wheat, peas, hides and beaver skins⁴ was collected for adventure; some plate, perhaps for conversion into coin, was supplied by the wealthier men of the community, and in January, 1646, a month after Turner parted from Mrs. Stolion in the town-house, the ship, carrying some of New Haven's leading men, Turner included, made way through the frozen harbor bound for London and a market. She was never seen again. No word came from the men who in winter rashly faced the North Atlantic in a craft believed by many to be unseaworthy.

On Turner's death, therefore, history is silent, and the sketch of his life ends here.⁵

There is, however, a legend that purports to show the manner in which

istrator of his mother's estate was that of a fair-minded man. *4 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VI. 350-351. In substance, the will of Abraham's brother Thomas, "gent," administered in 1680, is given in the *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLIX. 247-248.

² Hubbard makes some interesting comments on the New Haven traders and the errors of their mercantile policy. *A General History of New England . . .* (Cambridge, 1815), 318 ff.

³ *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 149.

⁴ Hides were obtained by barter from the West Indies; the New Haven merchants obtained beaver from Delaware Bay and from their Dutch neighbors at Manhattan.

⁵ Turner's estate, rated at £800 in 1643, was appraised in 1647 at £457.07.03. His indebtedness, which amounted to less than £50, included the sum of 12 shillings due to Mrs. Stolion. *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven*, 91. *New Haven Probate Court Records*, I. 15. The respect in which Turner's memory was held is shown by incidental references in the *New Haven Town Records* for 1659 and 1663, I. 406; II. 40.

the New Haven ship was lost. As an introduction of that legend will elevate the conclusion of the Turner-Stolion case to a region above the plane of petty mundane ethics, the story is given below. Relating as it does to a preternatural appearance at New Haven two years after the undescribed disaster occurred, it is taken from accounts that are either contemporaneous with, or not too remote from, the event that they commemorate.

V

Half a century after the appearance of a "phantom ship" in the sky at New Haven, Cotton Mather (H. C. 1678), who was then gathering material for his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, asked the New Haven minister, James Pierpont (H. C. 1681), for some account of the phenomenon. Pierpont's reply follows.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

In Compliance with your Desires, I now give you the Relation of that *Apparition* of a *Ship in the Air*, which I have received from the most Credible, Judicious and Curious Surviving Observers of it.

In the Year 1647. [*sic*] besides much other Lading, a far more Rich Treasure of Passengers, (Five or Six of which were Persons of chief Note and Worth in *New-Haven*) put themselves on Board a *New Ship*, built at *Rhode-Island*, of about 150 Tuns; but so walty, that the Master, (*Lamberton*) often said she would prove their Grave. In the Month of *January*, cutting their way thro' much Ice, on which they were accompanied with the Reverend Mr. *Davenport*, besides many other Friends, with many Fears, as well as Prayers and Tears, they set Sail. Mr. *Davenport* in Prayer with an observable *Emphasis* used these Words, *Lord, if it be thy pleasure to bury these our Friends in the bottom of the Seas, they are thine; save them!* The Spring following no Tidings of these Friends arrived with the Ships from *England*: *New-Haven's* Heart began to fail her: This put the Godly People on much Prayer, both Publick and Private, *That the Lord would (if it was his Pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear Friends, and prepare them with a suitable Submission to his Holy Will.* In June next ensuing, a great *Thunder-storm* arose out of the *North-West*; after which, (the *Hemisphere* being serene) about an Hour before Sun-set a SHIP of like Dimensions with the aforesaid, with her Canvas and Colours abroad (tho' the Wind Northernly) appeared in the Air, coming up from our Harbour's Mouth, which lyes Southward from the Town, seemingly with her *Sails* filled under a fresh Gale, holding her Course North, and continuing under Observation, Sailing against the Wind for the space of half an Hour. Many were drawn to behold this great Work of God; yea, the very *Children* cry'd out, '*There's a Brave Ship!*' At length, crouding up as far as there is usually *Water* sufficient for such a Vessel, and so near some of the Spectators, as that they imagined a Man might hurl a Stone on Board her, her *Main-*

top seem'd to be blown off, but left hanging in the Shrouds; then her *Misentop*; then all her *Masting* seemed blown away by the Board: quickly after the *Hulk* brought into a *Careen*, she overset, and so vanished into a smoaky Cloud, which in some time dissipated, leaving, as everywhere else, a clear Air. The admiring Spectators could distinguish the several Colours of each Part, the Principal Rigging, and such Proportions, as caused not only the generality of Persons to say, *This was the Mould of their Ship, and thus was her Tragick End*; but Mr. Davenport also in publick declared to this Effect, "*That God had condescended, for the quieting of their afflicted Spirits, this Extraordinary Account of his Sovereign Disposal of those for whom so many Fervent Prayers were made continually.*"

Thus I am Sir, Your Humble Servant, James Pierpont.⁶

It will be noticed that Pierpont speaks of the manifestation described by him as being viewed by "admiring [astonished] spectators," and this at a time when marvels were not uncommon.⁷ His testimony, however, comes some years after the event. A nearly contemporaneous report is supplied by John Winthrop in his *Journal*. Winthrop must be credited with a belief in the phenomenon, being himself not untouched by the so-called superstition of the day. His account, the earliest that we possess, is under date 28 June 1648. It reads:

There appeared over the harbor at New Haven, in the evening, the form of the keel of a ship with three masts, to which were suddenly added all the tackling and sails, and presently after, upon the top of the poop, a man standing with one hand akimbo under his left side, and in his right hand a sword stretched out towards the sea. Then from the side of the ship which was from the town arose a great smoke, which covered all the ship, and in that smoke she vanished away; but some saw her keel sink into the water. This was seen by many, men and women, and it continued about a quarter of an hour.⁸

It is possible that Winthrop's account of the phantom ship was supplied by Theophilus Eaton of New Haven, with whom Winthrop was in

⁶ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), book 1, 25-26.

⁷ Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, speaks of Pierpont's account of the phantom ship as "evidence of his felicity of fancy." Savage's own labored opinion of the whole matter is given in a note to Winthrop's account in the latter's "*History of New England*" (1853), II. 400-401. Hubbard makes no reference to the story, nor does Hutchinson. Hutchinson in speaking of the voyage quotes only Cotton's phrase that the passengers "all went to heaven by water, the ship never being heard of after their sailing." In 1824 the pastor of East Haven reprinted the Pierpont story in *The East-Haven Register* with the remark: "It is a singular affair and will be amusing to most of the readers." To this he adds: "I insert it without any comment, leaving every reader to make what speculations he pleases concerning it."

⁸ Winthrop, "*The History of New England*" [Journal], II. 399-400.

correspondence.⁹ The testimony of "credible, judicious and curious [careful] surviving observers," on which Pierpont's version was based, may have been supplemented by family tradition for Pierpont's first wife was a Davenport, granddaughter of the Reverend John who died 1670. These witnesses and their reporters, like everyone of the time, accepted without question the validity of the New Haven manifestation as a divine revelation. Belief in special providences was universal.

Today, if such demonstrations were seriously discussed, the pragmatically minded would regard their truth as unimportant; the significance lies in the appropriateness of the legend to the circumstances from which it arose. Psychology, however, speaking from an assured seat in the austere company of the approved sciences, credits the stories to "collective hallucination" or "mass hysteria," the workings of imagination in overwrought minds under the promptings of preconceived ideas.

Yet until the tenets of humanism disclose reality in their own phantoms of security and well-being there will probably be those who look back on the past with a sympathy that is spiritually akin to the faith of the New England fathers; back of the time when the turbid flood of modern life swept over the New England wilderness; back to the day when Davenport's little company standing on the New Haven shore saw above the water that lapped their feet, not a mirage to mock their sight, not phantasy to betray their yearning—only the divinely miraculous sign of the righteous, beneficent God.

⁹ Eaton wrote to Winthrop on 6 August 1646, "I have received yours of the 19(4) and 3(5) the later letter almost a month before the former came to hand, two days since. In both I see your labour of love, and that you are sensible of our affliction & exercise concerning Newhaven shipp, of which we yet heare no certainty, but desire to waite with due submission (though the cupp be very bitter) to our wise and good Father's providence." 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vi. 345-346.

February Meeting, 1948

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 February 1948, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Recording Secretary, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of letters from the Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL and the Hon. ROBERT FISKE BRADFORD accepting Honorary Membership, and from Mr. SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. JULIAN LOWELL COOLIDGE, Mr. BARTLETT HARDING HAYES, Jr., Dr. HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, Mr. CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND and Mr. SIDNEY TALBOT STRICKLAND accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. EDMUND SEARS MORGAN read a paper entitled "Thomas Hutchinson and the Stamp Act."¹

Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON made brief remarks concerning the Falkland Islands, "rocky, barren, surf-rimmed," presently claimed by both Great Britain and the Argentine Republic. Mr. CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED commented on the fact that a shrub which grows on the Falklands is called by the same name—diddle dees—as a New England pine shrub which grows on Cape Cod, and that a vine which grows *under* these pine shrubs in New England belongs botanically to the same family as the Falkland shrub.

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Mr. MURRAY G. LAWSON:

¹ Printed in *The New England Quarterly*, XXI (1948), 459-492.

The Routes of Boston's Trade, 1752-1765¹

EVER since the launching in 1642 of its first home-built vessel, *The Trial*,² colonial Boston can be said to have lived and thrived by the sea, the umbilical cord of its economic prosperity. This cardinal truth has long been recognized and accepted by historians. A typical expression of this view is that of a New England historian who, a quarter of a century ago, tersely remarked that "the importance of maritime commerce in the history of Boston . . . can hardly be overestimated."³ Nevertheless, despite this recognition, apparently "no one has attempted" to prove the validity of this contention by "a systematic description of that commerce."⁴ This failure has long been ascribed to the lack of the "statistics and materials" necessary for such a study.⁵ Actually, however, a small, but rather significant, part of the statistical data essential for a quantitative analysis of Boston's trade in the pre-revolutionary period of the eighteenth century has always been available in the English Public Records Office, in the form of the Massachusetts Naval Office Lists of Entries and Clearances for the ports of Boston and Salem for the years 1686-1719 and 1752-1765.⁶ These Naval Office Lists which were prepared by the Naval Officer, the Governor's personal agent for the enforcement of the various Navigation Laws,⁷ contain information as to the date of entry or clearance, the type, name, tonnage, crew and armament of the vessel, the place and date of construction, the place and date of registry, the master's

¹ The data for this article was gathered at the University of California where the author held the appointment of Research Associate in History during the summer of 1946.

² William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*, I. 143.

³ Samuel E. Morison, "The Commerce of Boston on the Eve of the Revolution," *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, XXXII. 24.

⁴ *Id.* Professor Morison's study is based on incomplete statistics for the three years, 1771, 1772 and 1773.

⁵ *Id.*

⁶ Colonial Office, Series 5, volumes 848 (1686-1719), 849 (1752-1756), 850 (1752-1765) and 851 (1756-1765). See Charles M. Andrews, *Guide To The Materials For American History, To 1783, In The Public Record Office of Great Britain*, I. 171. It should be noted, however, that these Naval Office Lists do not give a complete picture of Boston's trade, since the activities of the fishing fleet and of the vessels participating in the intra-New England trade are not recorded.

⁷ For a description of the office of the Naval Officer see George L. Beer, *The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754*, I. 267-272 and Lawrence A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws, 170-176*.

and owner's names, the cargo, the terminus and the place, date and amount of bond, if any. About a decade ago this material was first made available in this country when it was microfilmed for the University of California.⁸

As this article is intended as a contribution to our rather meager knowledge of the actual geographical areas with which Boston traded in the mid-eighteenth century only that portion of the Massachusetts Naval Office Lists pertaining to the port of Boston are utilized.⁹ These were prepared under the direction of Benjamin Pemberton (1697-1782), the Naval Officer of Boston since 1734,¹ and cover a span of roughly fourteen years, from 10 October 1752 to 9 October 1765, inclusive.² Of these, eight (1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1759, 1761, 1762 and 1764) are complete years of four quarters each, beginning on January fifth and ending on the following January fourth, and six (1752, 1757, 1758, 1760, 1763 and 1765) are incomplete, consisting of from one to three quarters each.³ Unfortunately, as almost two-thirds of this period was a time of war—as far as the English colonies were concerned the French and Indian Wars may be said to have begun with the failure of Washington's mission to the French in the summer of 1754 and to have ended with the capture of Havana in August of 1762—a certain amount of divergence from normalcy can be expected for these war years. How large, or small, this distortion actually is may be easily gauged from a comparison with the normal years both preceding and succeeding the period of the wars.

Before proceeding to an explanation of the charts, which appear below, it might be advisable to sketch briefly the imperial and colonial laws af-

⁸ This microfilming project, consisting of copying all the extant Naval Office Lists of the English, American and Caribbean colonies, was undertaken by Professor Lawrence A. Harper of the Department of History. During the late war the Metcalf Committee on Micro-copying Manuscripts in English Depositories copied all of the Colonial Office Series 5 and deposited the film in the Library of Congress. For further information regarding this latter project see Vernon D. Tate, "From Binkley To Bush," *The American Archivist*, x. 253.

⁹ It is the intention of the author to prepare a similar study for the port of Salem.

¹ For further biographical details see Walter K. Watkins, "The Pemberton Family," *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLVI. 396.

² Actually the extant portion of the Naval Office List for the year 1752 begins with 29 September. However, for the sake of uniformity and comparability the entries and clearances for the eleven days from 29 September to 9 October inclusive have been excluded.

³ The inclusive dates of the four quarters are (1) 5 January - 4 April, (2) 5 April - 4 July, (3) 5 July - 9 October and (4) 10 October - 4 January.

fecting the course of Boston's trade in the period under discussion. The imperial framework "regulating the trade of the colonies in . . . America dealt chiefly" with three objects, "(1) the ships carrying the goods, (2) the places to which colonial goods might be exported, and (3) the places from which goods might be imported."⁴ By the Navigation Act of 1660 only English shipping, that is shipping owned by the people of England, Wales, Scotland (after 1707), Ireland, the Channel Islands and the English colonies, was permitted to trade with the colonies.⁵ By the same act "colonial produce might be exported from the colonies freely, except enumerated articles which had to be sent to England or an English colony." (After 1685 Ireland was no longer deemed "English" and Scotland didn't become so until 1707.)⁶ The regulations governing imports are much more complex and vary with the continent from which they came. African products, although subject to the monopoly of the Royal African Company, could otherwise be imported freely. East Indian goods, beginning in 1698, had to be obtained from England.⁷ "The importation of European goods . . . was governed by the Staple Act of 1663 . . . which required that such goods be obtained in England . . . with certain exceptions . . ." such as servants, horses and victuals from Scotland and Ireland, wines from the Azores and Madeira and salt from Europe for the fisheries. (Until 1707 and 1780 Scotland and Ireland, respectively, were regarded as foreign countries which could export to the colonies only when specific permission was granted.)⁸ American products, with a few exceptions, could be imported without hindrance, although occasionally subject to an import duty, which might or might not be prohibitive in nature. From 1735 to 1758, however, foreign coffee was required to be imported from England and in 1764 the importation of foreign rum and spirits was prohibited.⁹

⁴ Lawrence A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws*, 394-395.

⁵ *Id.*, 389, 395.

⁶ *Id.*, 396-399. The chief enumerated articles which affected the trade of the American colonies are:

1661: cotton wool, dyewoods, fustic, ginger, indigo, logwood, sugar (white and brown) and tobacco.

1705: molasses and rice.

1706: naval stores.

1722: beaver skins and furs and copper ore.

1764: cocoa nuts, coffee, hides and skins, iron, lumber, pimento, pot and pearlshes, raw silk and whale fins.

⁷ *Id.*, 400.

⁸ *Id.*, 401.

⁹ *Id.*, 402-403.

During the course of the French and Indian Wars special measures were resorted to which tended to interfere with the normal course of trade and commerce. In the period preceding the official declaration of war in May, 1756, both the imperial and colonial governments took steps to prevent the French colonies in America from being supplied with provisions and warlike stores. As early as November, 1754, instructions to this effect were despatched to both the naval and military commanders in America.¹ In March, 1755, Massachusetts, realizing the extreme gravity of the situation, adopted the first of eight laws for the "prevention of supplies of provisions and warlike stores to the French."² In May, 1756, England declared war on France and as it was a "clearly defined and unequivocal principle of British law, [that] all commercial intercourse with the enemy was absolutely prohibited in time of war,"³ such trade with the French was immediately proscribed, as it was later with the Spanish when England declared war on Spain in January, 1762. Despite this "prohibition of all direct trade with the French," the British blockade of the French West Indies proved to be ineffective as "provisions could still be legally shipped . . . from the American colonies to the islands of the neutral powers in the West Indies, whence they could be transported to the French colonies."⁴ Consequently, in 1757 Parliament attempted to close this gap by "prohibiting . . . the exportation of all provisions (except fish and roots, and rice . . .) from the colonies to any place but Great Britain, Ireland, or some British colony."⁵ In addition, occasionally the military situation in America necessitated the temporary imposition of a general embargo on all trade. In 1757 Loudon laid such an embargo for a few months in order to obtain sufficient transports to move his troops to Halifax; in 1758 Abercromby imposed a similar embargo preparatory to the Louisbourg expedition; and finally, in 1762 Amherst embargoed

¹ George L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, 76.

² Session 1754-1755, c.34; session 1755-1756, c.6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 30; session 1756-1757, c.15. Massachusetts (Colony), *The Acts and Resolves . . . of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay . . .*, III, 814, 865, 866-867, 870-871, 880-881, 884-885, 901-903, 998. In 1757 and again in 1758, as a contribution to the military effort, Massachusetts placed a temporary "embargo upon [the] ships and other vessels in this province." Session 1756-1757, c.35 (7-20 April 1757) and session 1757-1758, c.25 (25 March - 1 June 1758). III, 1046; IV, 70-71.

³ George L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, 72.

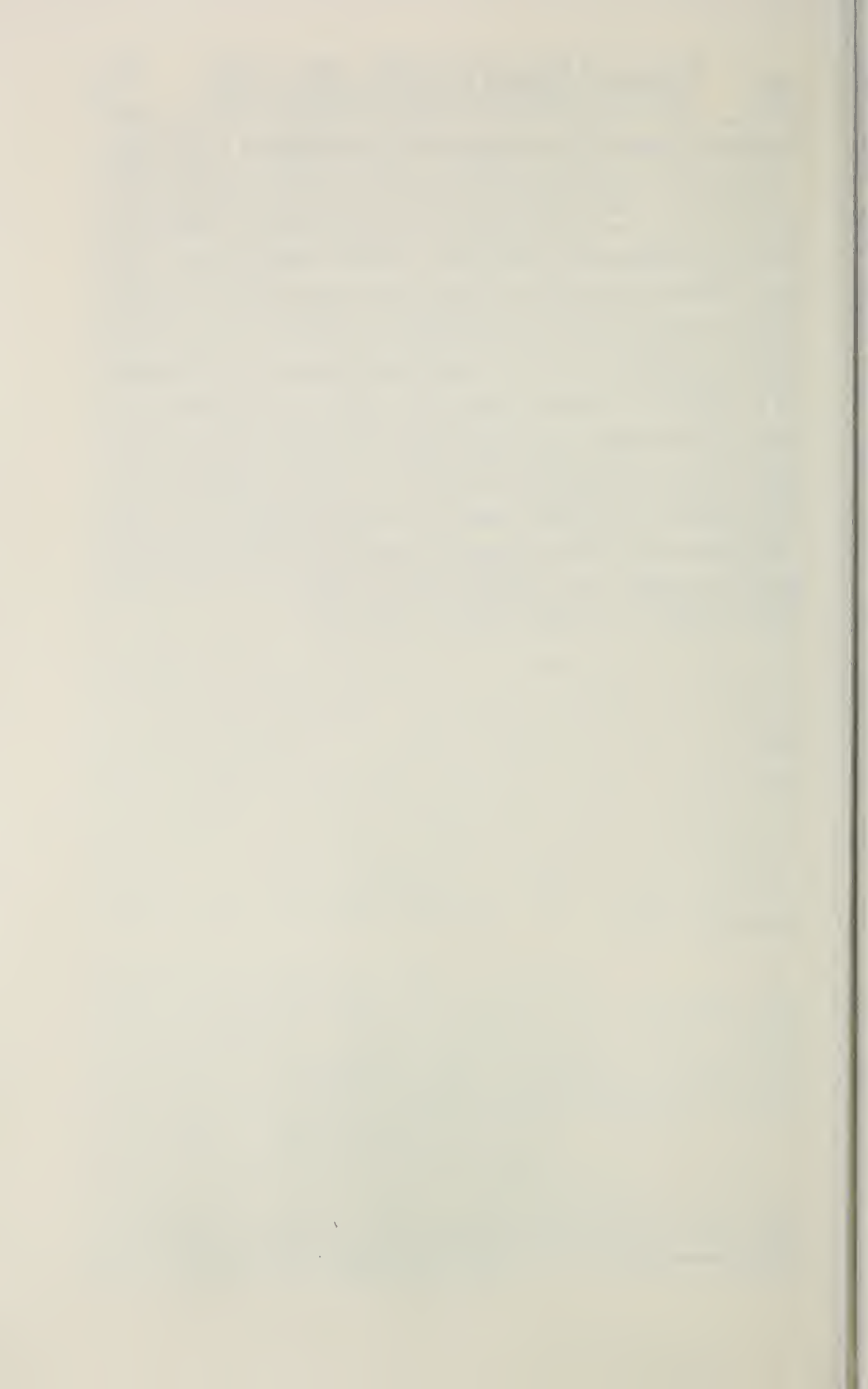
⁴ *Id.*, 79.

⁵ *Id.*, 84. The "Rule of 1756," that is the ruling of the British prize courts that a neutral power could not engage in a trade which was opened to it only by "the pressure of war," to some extent hampered the trade of the English colonies with the Dutch and Spanish in the Caribbean. *Id.*, 94-96.

the export of provisions from the Northern and Middle colonies in order to maintain a sufficient store of supplies for the provisioning of his troops.⁶

As can readily be seen from the titles of the four statistical tables, which form the heart of this article, they represent an attempt to fill in one of the many lacunae in our knowledge of colonial trade and commerce by presenting a quantitative analysis of the course of Boston's trade in the middle period of the eighteenth century. The format adopted is that of proceeding from the general to the particular. Consequently, the first table presents a breakdown of Boston's trade in the years 1752-1765 with the major geographical regions of the world, North America, the Caribbean, the British Isles, Europe and Africa. The second shows a further breakdown by sub-dividing each of these major regions into their component geographical sub-regions. The third offers an even more elaborate breakdown by listing, in alphabetical order, the specific ports with which Boston traded. The fourth gives a list of those voyages which had more than a single terminus. In this connection it should be noted that for the purposes of calculation these multiple termini voyages were counted twice (in one instance three times), once for each terminus.

⁶ *Id.*, 85, 112-113.



Tables
The Routes of Boston's Trade,
1752-1765

TABLE I

The Termini of Boston's Trade, by Major Geographical Areas, 1752-1765

		NUMBER OF VOYAGES													
		1752 ¹ (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
CLEARANCES TO															
NORTH AMERICA ²		89	261	234	204	212	167	193	272	104	255	312	208	240	208
CARIBBEAN ³		52	154	155	137	139	91	99	145	67	112	132	128	126	62
BRITISH ISLES ⁴		17	42	31	37	31	19	16	19	5	30	44	32	54	46
EUROPE ⁵		2	20	26	28	29	18	12	8	9	13	16	10	14	11
AFRICA ⁶		1	4	6	1	1	3	2	5	6	4	5	9	9	4
TOTAL		161	481	452	407	412	298	322	449	191	414	509	387	443	331
ENTRIES FROM															
NORTH AMERICA		38	184	150	177	161	109	141	147	95	235	262	189	210	186
CARIBBEAN		12	72	80	50	44	27	16	52	34	95	125	110	97	91
BRITISH ISLES		22	46	45	34	38	23	20	38	11	39	35	41	57	45
EUROPE		2	16	27	26	35	19	9	9	4	15	7	9	15	10
AFRICA		1	11	10	1	4	...	3	7	...	8	3	2	9	1
TOTAL		75	329	312	288	282	178	189	253	144	392	432	351	388	333
TOTAL (Clearances & Entries)															
NORTH AMERICA		127	445	384	381	373	276	334	419	199	490	574	397	450	394
CARIBBEAN		64	226	235	187	183	118	115	197	101	207	257	238	223	153
BRITISH ISLES		39	88	76	71	69	42	36	57	16	69	79	73	111	91
EUROPE		4	36	53	54	64	37	21	17	13	28	23	19	29	21
AFRICA		2	15	16	2	5	3	5	12	6	12	8	11	18	5
GRAND TOTAL.		936	910	761	605	601	476	511	600	307	600	600	600	600	600

CLEARANCES TO

NORTH AMERICA ²	3,568	11,453	10,863	8,432	9,058	5,996	8,083	11,240	4,131	11,359	13,843	10,291	12,569	10,877
	3,718	10,535	10,766	8,081	9,271	6,183	7,790	9,550	4,939	6,942	8,658	8,717	8,490	4,076
CARIBBEAN ³	1,460	3,552	2,855	2,950	2,798	1,577	1,425	1,988	455	2,988	3,562	3,232	5,303	4,902
BRITISH ISLES ⁴	195	1,678	2,170	1,803	1,810	1,010	660	467	635	755	913	845	937	821
EUROPE ⁵	40	171	290	50	40	180	85	260	295	265	320	490	670	220
AFRICA ⁶														
TOTAL	8,981	27,389	26,944	21,316	22,977	14,946	18,043	23,505	10,455	22,309	27,296	23,575	27,969	20,896

ENTRIES FROM

NORTH AMERICA	1,565	5,958	5,732	7,066	6,266	3,977	5,810	5,973	3,868	10,215	11,229	7,915	9,420	8,628
CARIBBEAN	666	3,963	4,707	2,431	2,201	1,292	900	3,363	1,758	5,182	7,095	5,844	5,296	5,712
BRITISH ISLES	2,040	4,434	4,608	3,125	3,707	2,280	2,224	4,623	1,355	4,679	3,352	4,537	6,039	4,568
EUROPE	215	1,628	2,085	1,863	2,955	1,735	560	695	350	975	428	510	1,573	700
AFRICA	50	640	678	100	450	.....	115	375	.....	390	130	140	660	50
TOTAL	4,536	16,623	17,810	14,585	15,579	9,284	9,609	15,029	7,331	21,441	22,234	18,946	22,988	19,658

TOTAL (Clearances
& Entries)

NORTH AMERICA	3,133	17,411	16,595	15,498	15,324	9,973	13,893	17,213	7,999	21,574	25,072	18,206	21,989	19,505
CARIBBEAN	4,384	14,498	15,473	10,512	11,472	7,475	8,690	12,913	6,697	12,124	15,753	14,561	13,786	9,788
BRITISH ISLES	3,500	7,986	7,463	6,075	6,505	3,857	3,649	6,611	1,810	7,667	6,914	7,769	11,342	9,470
EUROPE	410	3,306	4,255	3,666	4,765	2,745	1,220	1,162	985	1,730	1,341	1,355	2,510	1,521
AFRICA	90	811	968	150	490	180	200	635	295	655	450	630	1,330	270
GRAND TOTAL	13,517	44,012	44,754	35,901	38,556	24,230	27,652	38,534	17,786	43,750	49,530	42,521	50,957	40,554

¹ The letters (a,b,c,d), standing respectively for the first (5 January–4 April), second (5 April–4 July), third (5 July–9 October) and fourth (10 October–4 January) quarter, indicate the quarters of the year for which data were available.

² Continental North America only, exclusive of Mexico, but inclusive of Newfoundland. For more detailed information see Table II below.

³ Under this designation is included the Bermudas, the West Indies, Mexico, Central and South America. For more detailed information see Table II below.

⁴ This designation refers to England, Wales, Scotland (including the Orkney and Shetland Islands), Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands.

⁵ Exclusive of the British Isles. For more detailed information see Table II below.

⁶ Inclusive of the Azores, the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands and Madeira.

⁷ Registered vessel tonnage. According to Thomas Irving, who had been the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports of North America, the cargo tonnage ordinarily exceeded the vessel tonnage by approximately fifty per cent, because "vessels, in order to evade the payment of lighthouse money and various port charges collected upon tonnage, were generally registered considerably under the real burthen." United Kingdom, *The Journals of the House of Commons*, XLVII (1792), 357.

The Termini of Boston's Trade, by Chief Geographical Sub-Regions, 1752-1765

CLEARANCES TO		NUMBER OF VOYAGES													
NORTH AMERICA		1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765
(d)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abc)	(abc)	(abd)	(abcd)	(ad)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(acd)	(abcd)	(abc)
Newfoundland ¹	36	1	36	36	24	17	12	8	15	5	25	24	27	33	40
Quebec ²	51	17	51	42	57	69	86	98	148	31	27	6	3	5	6
Nova Scotia ³	17	4	17	16	8	17	7	11	11	4	8	14	4	16	5
New York ⁴	39	10	39	36	23	30	23	17	17	4	1	43	1	27	37
New Jersey	2	11	2	1	2	2	13	2	24	1	42	51	23	30	19
Pennsylvania ⁵	27	7	27	25	15	13	13	21	9	18	9	22	18	20	13
Delaware ⁶	13	36	13	14	9	12	8	9	41	4	38	68	58	51	36
Maryland	61	2	61	49	61	44	16	22	6	30	10	20	13	16	8
Virginia ⁷	15	...	15	15	5	8	2	4	...	5	2	1	5	3	5
North Carolina ⁸	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
South Carolina	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida ⁹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
CARIBBEAN															
Bermudas	3	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	4	...	1	1	2	1	1
Bahamas ¹⁰	5	...	5	...	1	...	1	1	4	1	5	9	5	7	6
Greater Antilles ¹¹	26	14	26	21	9	15	9	23	20	13	15	15	20	10	7
Virgin Islands ¹²	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Leeward Islands ¹³	7	3	7	14	2	6	34	21	19	19	21	18	13	12	9
Windward Islands ¹⁴	12	6	12	11	14	7	12	7	6	1	5	31	15	25	10
Lesser Antilles ¹⁵	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Indies ¹⁶	101	29	101	104	108	110	33	47	88	33	65	58	73	66	22
Central America ¹⁷	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
South America ¹⁸	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
BRITISH ISLES															
Great Britain	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
England ¹⁹	31	13	31	25	26	23	15	12	15	4	24	31	19	41	37
Scotland ²⁰	6	2	6	2	7	5	3	1	2	...	4	4	4	6	4
Ireland ²¹	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	8	8	2	3
Islands ²²	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	5	1
EUROPE															
Europe	8	...	8	10	3	9	4	...	2	2	4	2	2	2	1
Germany ²³	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Holland ²⁴	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Portugal ²⁵	1	...	1	7	15	13	13	10	1	1	...	8	3	3	1
Spain ²⁶	11	2	11	8	8	6	1	2	...	4	2	...	3	9	4
Gibraltar ²⁷	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	2	7	1	2	...	...
Italy ²⁸	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
AFRICA															
Africa	1	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	2	5	3	4	5	3	2
Azores ²⁹	1	1	1	2	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	3	3	1
Madeira	...	...	2	2	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	2	1
Canaries ³⁰	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

CLEARANCES TO

NORTH AMERICA

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Newfoundland ¹	50	1,696	2,056	1,205	761	465	340	893	210	1,090	1,172	1,313	1,952	2,238
Quebec ²	720	2,243	1,705	2,333	2,865	2,535	3,887	75	105	1,236	273	145	190	285
Nova Scotia ³	93	529	515	159	505	185	441	413	1,287	2,428	2,561	1,465	1,600	1,450
New York ⁴	482	1,707	1,545	904	1,340	1,100	865	865	205	1,575	1,964	900	1,518	2,215
New Jersey	17	65	50	32	55	550	941	1,051	40	1,806	2,197	959	1,302	904
Pennsylvania ⁵	478	1,146	1,065	548	426	365	548	308	705	1,806	1,040	1,105	1,032	955
Delaware ⁶	248	700	563	402	655	725	758	1,725	111	350	2,891	2,539	2,651	1,575
Maryland	1,350	2,467	2,178	2,514	1,646	71	188	360	1,108	1,774	920	1,212	1,480	525
Virginia ⁷	130	900	1,186	335	805	71	188	360	230	705	35	430	130	440
North Carolina ⁸	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	70	.....	.....	.....	85
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida ⁹	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

CARIBBEAN

Bermudas	.....	165	.....	80	.....	.....	.....	185	.....	10	30	100	30	60
Bahamas ¹⁰	.....	240	260	50	.....	25	15	146	45	160	243	133	255	175
Greater Antilles ¹¹	1,105	2,387	1,773	515	925	515	1,514	2,529	1,665	1,365	1,465	1,260	850	555
Virgin Islands ¹²	.....	335	.....	.....	.....	40	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Leeward Islands ¹³	410	920	1,115	105	600	2,500	1,383	1,248	1,092	1,268	1,145	758	1,044	400
Windward Islands ¹⁴	.....	.....	565	685	495	610	325	285	50	250	2,202	956	1,605	607
Lesser Antilles ¹⁵	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Indies ¹⁶	1,868	6,468	7,053	6,646	7,221	2,463	4,553	4,997	2,087	3,839	3,573	5,510	4,401	1,689
Central America ¹⁷	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	30	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South America ¹⁸	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	305	590

BRITISH ISLES

Great Britain	.....	45	.....	90	.....	.....	125	45	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	80
England ¹⁹	1,070	2,792	2,375	2,261	2,195	1,250	1,075	1,608	365	2,500	2,540	2,019	4,330	4,142
Scotland ²⁰	265	445	210	499	395	279	40	210	.....	288	335	424	403	255
Ireland ²¹	125	210	165	100	208	48	185	125	90	200	669	749	180	305
Islands ²²	.....	60	105	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18	40	390	120

EUROPE

Europe	.....	550	715	260	520	200	.....	200	175	240	120	65	75	35
Germany ²³	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	56
Holland ²⁴	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	.....	.....	115	.....	.....	330	.....	.....	370
Portugal ²⁵	.....	48	580	763	835	710	490	40	50	.....	418	500	182	30
Spain ²⁶	195	1,080	675	585	415	100	170	.....	315	185	.....	190	680	330
Gibraltar ²⁷	.....	.....	.....	85	.....	.....	.....	112	95	330	45	90	.....	.....
Italy ²⁸	.....	.....	200	110	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

AFRICA

Africa	.....	55	75	.....	.....	50	.....	140	245	235	260	255	225	110
Azores ²⁹	40	50	100	.....	.....	90	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	170	180	60
Madeira	.....	66	115	50	40	.....	85	20	.....	.....	60	.....	150	50
Canaries ³⁰	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	.....	.....	50	30	.....	.....	115	.....
Cape Verde Islands ³¹	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	65	.....	.....

Table II—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

ENTRIES FROM	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765
(d)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abc)	(abd)	(abcd)	(ad)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(acd)	(abcd)	(abc)
NORTH AMERICA														
Newfoundland	2	1	1	10	2	1	3	6	8	16	14	19	16	4
Quebec	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	6	6	6	2	1
Nova Scotia	1	13	10	18	10	2	15	11	6	21	26	24	17	20
New York	5	21	11	15	22	7	12	8	5	6	12	6	11	6
New Jersey	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	7	1	...	...
Pennsylvania	14	45	36	30	26	25	28	45	23	60	60	20	53	33
Delaware	1	2	1	2	1	2	4	5	2	...	...	...	...	...
Maryland	3	21	22	25	22	15	19	22	19	51	39	31	22	35
Virginia	2	14	5	16	4	12	12	13	8	10	31	16	10	21
North Carolina	9	58	58	58	69	39	44	33	20	57	57	52	68	56
South Carolina	1	9	6	3	4	4	3	4	4	5	7	11	10	7
Georgia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	3	1	3
Florida	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
CARIBBEAN														
Bermudas	...	1	...	2	1	...	1	5	1	1	...	2	1	...
Bahamas	2	12	...	5	1	12	...	5	5	7	15	7	9	13
Greater Antilles	6	18	16	15	14	...	2	10	3	8	6	9	22	14
Virgin Islands	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	3	4	3	6	2	3
Leeward Islands	...	22	28	15	7	8	...	...	15	62	59	50	39	16
Windward Islands	4	7	6	10	4	5	1	2	...	1	25	24	21	18
Lesser Antilles	...	8	17	1	9	...	1	1	...	1	2	...	2	12
West Indies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Central America	...	3	4	1	7	1	6	2	1	...	1	...	...	4
South America	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	11	14	12	1	11
BRITISH ISLES														
Great Britain	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
England	19	39	38	29	33	20	12	33	10	32	25	34	43	43
Scotland	1	5	5	3	5	2	7	5	...	7	7	7	9	2
Ireland	2	2	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	...	3	...	5	...
Islands	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
EUROPE														
Europe	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Germany	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Holland	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Portugal	1	...	10	17	17	9	6	4	4	7	5	7	5	4
Spain	...	10	15	9	15	10	3	2	...	4	...	2	10	6
Gibraltar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	4	2	...	...	...
Italy	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
AFRICA														
Africa	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	4	3	...	...	...
Azores	...	8	7	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	4	...
Madeira	1	2	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	4	...
Canaries	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

ENTRIES FROM

NORTH AMERICA

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Newfoundland	133	40	40	665	90	40	145	230	320	738	682	876	940	235
Quebec	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	430	243	300	75	50
Nova Scotia	30	585	405	810	555	95	660	575	200	801	972	943	820	905
New York	135	525	250	389	835	195	435	243	155	140	536	285	259	168
New Jersey	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	.....	.....	30	255	12	.....	.....
Pennsylvania	695	1,951	1,530	1,292	1,142	1,045	1,390	2,115	1,075	2,995	2,792	910	2,770	1,835
Delaware	17	65	15	32	20	70	160	200	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maryland	120	770	893	972	716	521	803	911	668	2,173	1,618	1,255	968	1,489
Virginia	40	507	215	673	125	385	459	393	315	371	1,130	674	409	985
North Carolina	375	2,115	2,182	2,108	2,443	1,290	1,603	1,153	880	2,302	2,561	2,105	2,660	2,531
South Carolina	20	400	202	125	240	201	115	153	175	175	330	405	484	300
Georgia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	110	150	35	130
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	135	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

CARIBBEAN

Bermudas	.....	40	.....	60	40	.....	35	233	31	20	.....	80	30	.....
Bahamas	105	530	371	161	50	40	.....	225	195	308	580	310	530	600
Greater Antilles	355	1,250	1,080	910	725	610	75	1,005	160	725	405	445	1,171	1,025
Virgin Islands	.....	50	40	45	40	.....	.....	.....	215	192	210	295	95	190
Leeward Islands	.....	968	1,640	630	268	401	155	1,600	632	3,170	3,400	2,352	2,050	1,136
Windward Islands	206	420	305	520	240	201	80	50	.....	55	1,318	1,567	1,195	1,220
Lesser Antilles	.....	440	761	45	410	.....	50	80	.....	60	170	.....	150	681
West Indies	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Central America	.....	265	510	60	428	40	470	170	180	.....	20	.....	.....	150
South America	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	345	702	992	795	75	710

BRITISH ISLES

Great Britain	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
England	1,800	3,804	4,016	2,788	3,270	2,005	1,540	4,180	1,290	4,146	2,420	3,982	4,974	4,348
Scotland	80	495	482	252	437	225	634	443	.....	533	657	555	590	220
Ireland	160	135	110	85	.....	50	50	.....	65	.....	275	.....	475	.....
Islands	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

EUROPE

Europe	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Germany	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Holland	75	.....	150	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Portugal	140	388	625	1,068	1,320	645	400	205	350	500	303	395	673	320
Spain	.....	1,240	1,310	795	1,245	1,090	160	340	.....	270	.....	115	900	380
Gibraltar	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	.....	205	125	.....	.....	.....
Italy	.....	.....	.....	.....	390	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

AFRICA

Africa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....	.....	205	130	.....	.....	.....
Azores	.....	500	488	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	250	.....
Madeira	50	90	40	.....	50	.....	20	20	.....	45	.....	.....	295	.....
Canaries	.....	.....	50	.....	120	.....	50	200	.....	140	.....	50	115	.....
Cape Verde Islands	.....	50	100	.....	280	.....	.....	120	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50

Table II—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

TOTAL (Clearances & Entries)														
	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
NORTH AMERICA														
Newfoundland	3	37	37	34	19	13	11	21	13	41	38	46	49	44
Quebec	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	33	12	9	7	7
Nova Scotia	18	64	52	75	79	88	113	159	37	85	89	60	56	57
New York	9	38	27	23	39	14	23	19	9	14	26	10	27	11
New Jersey	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	7	2	..	..
Pennsylvania	24	84	72	53	56	48	45	62	27	89	103	40	80	70
Delaware	2	4	2	4	3	2	6	5	3	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	14	48	47	40	35	28	40	46	37	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	9	27	19	25	16	20	21	22	37	93	90	54	52	54
North Carolina	45	119	107	119	113	55	66	74	12	19	53	34	30	34
South Carolina	3	24	21	8	12	6	7	10	50	95	125	110	119	92
Georgia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	15	27	24	26	15
Florida	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	4	4	8	4	8
CARIBBEAN														
Bermudas	..	4	..	5	1	..	1	9	1	2	1	4	2	1
Bahamas	2	17	13	6	1	2	1	9	6	12	24	12	16	19
Greater Antilles	20	44	37	24	29	21	25	30	16	23	21	29	32	21
Virgin Islands	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	3	3	4	3	6	2	3
Leeward Islands	3	29	42	17	13	42	25	46	34	83	77	63	51	25
Windward Islands	10	19	17	24	11	17	8	8	1	6	56	39	46	28
Lesser Antilles	..	8	17	1	9	..	1	1	..	1	2	..	2	12
West Indies	29	101	104	108	110	33	47	88	33	65	58	73	66	22
Central America	..	3	4	1	8	2	6	3	1	..	1	..	..	6
South America	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	6	11	14	12	6	16
BRITISH ISLES														
Great Britain	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
England	32	70	63	55	56	35	24	48	14	56	56	53	84	80
Scotland	3	11	7	10	10	5	8	7	..	11	11	11	15	6
Ireland	4	5	5	4	3	2	3	1	..	2	11	8	7	3
Islands	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	5	1
EUROPE														
Europe	..	8	10	3	9	4	..	2	2	4	2	2	2	1
Germany	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Holland	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	5	..	..	1
Portugal	1	..	17	32	30	22	16	5	..	7	13	10	8	4
Spain	2	21	23	17	21	11	5	2	4	6	..	5	19	5
Gibraltar	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	5	2	11	3	2	..	10
Italy	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
AFRICA														
Africa	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	2	5	7	7	5	3	2
Azores	1	9	9	..	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	4	7	1
Madeira	1	4	3	1	2	..	2	2	..	..	1	..	6	1
Canaries	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	4	..	4	..	..	9	..
Cape Verde Islands	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..
TOTAL (Clearances & Entries)														

TOTAL (Clearances & Entries)		1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
NORTH AMERICA															
Newfoundland		183	1,736	2,096	1,870	851	505	485	1,123	530	1,828	1,854	2,189	2,892	2,473
Quebec		750	2,828	2,110	3,143	3,420	2,630	4,547	6,125	105	1,666	516	445	265	335
Nova Scotia		228	1,054	765	548	1,340	380	876	656	285	3,229	3,533	2,408	2,420	2,355
New York												1,326	468	973	373
New Jersey		1,177	3,658	3,075	2,196	2,482	2,145	2,255	2,980	1,280	4,570	4,756	1,810	4,288	4,050
Pennsylvania		34	130	65	64	75	70	235	200	120					
Delaware		598	1,916	1,958	1,520	1,142	1,071	1,744	1,962	1,373	3,979	3,815	2,214	2,270	2,393
Maryland		288	1,207	778	1,075	780	750	1,007	701	426	721	2,170	1,779	1,441	1,940
Virginia		1,725	4,582	4,360	4,622	4,089	2,015	2,361	2,878	1,988	4,076	5,452	4,644	5,311	4,106
North Carolina		150	1,300	1,388	460	1,045	272	303	513	405	880	1,250	1,617	1,964	825
South Carolina												145	580	165	570
Georgia															85
Florida							135								
CARIBBEAN															
Bermudas			205		140	40		35	418	31	30	30	180	60	60
Bahamas		105	770	631	211	50	65	15	371	240	468	823	443	785	775
Greater Antilles		1,460	3,637	2,853	1,425	1,650	1,125	1,589	3,534	1,825	2,090	1,870	1,705	2,021	1,580
Virgin Islands			50	40	45	40	40		60	215	192	210	295	95	190
Leeward Islands		335	1,323	2,755	735	868	2,901	1,538	2,848	1,724	4,438	4,545	3,110	3,094	1,536
Windward Islands		616	1,340	870	1,205	735	811	405	335	50	305	3,520	2,523	2,800	1,827
Lesser Antilles			440	761	45	410		50	80		60	170		150	681
West Indies		1,868	6,468	7,053	6,646	7,221	2,463	4,553	4,997	2,087	3,839	3,573	5,510	4,401	1,689
Central America			265	510	60	458	70	470	270	180		20			230
South America								35		345	702	992	795	380	1,220
BRITISH ISLES															
Great Britain			45		90			125	45						80
England		2,870	6,596	6,391	5,049	5,465	3,255	2,615	5,788	1,655	6,646	4,960	6,001	9,304	8,490
Scotland		345	940	692	751	832	504	674	653		821	992	979	993	475
Ireland		285	345	275	185	208	98	235	125	155	200	944	749	655	305
Islands			60	105								18	40	390	120
EUROPE															
Europe			550	715	260	520	200		200	175	240	120	65	75	35
Germany															56
Holland		75		150		40			190			330			370
Portugal		140	436	1,205	1,831	2,155	1,355	890	245	400	500	721	895	855	350
Spain		195	2,320	1,985	1,380	1,660	1,190	330	340	315	455		305	1,580	710
Gibraltar					85				187	95	535	170	90		
Italy				200	110	390									
AFRICA															
Africa			55	75			50	30	140	245	440	390	255	225	110
Azores		40	550	588			90	35	135				260	430	60
Madeira		50	156	155	50	90		85	40		45	60		445	50
Canaries				50		120		50	200		170		50	230	
Cape Verde Islands			50	100	100	280	40		120				65		50

NOTES TO TABLE II

- ¹ Includes Belle Isle (British after June, 1759).
- ² Includes Montreal and St. Lawrence River. The province of Quebec became British after the capture of the cities of Quebec and Montreal in September of 1759 and 1760, respectively.
- ³ Includes Annapolis, Annapolis Royal, Bay of Chaleur, Canso, Cape Breton Island (British after July, 1758), Chignecto, Ft. Cumberland, Halifax and Louisbourg (British after July, 1758).
- ⁴ Includes Long Island.
- ⁵ Includes Philadelphia.
- ⁶ Includes Newcastle-on-Delaware and Wilmington.
- ⁷ Includes Petersburg.
- ⁸ Includes Cape Fear and Roanoke.
- ⁹ Includes coast of Florida and Pensacola. Florida became British after the Treaty of Paris in February, 1763.
- ¹⁰ Includes New Providence, Turk Island and West Caicos.
- ¹¹ Includes Cuba (Havana), Hispaniola (Monte-Christi and Santo Domingo), Jamaica and Porto Rico.
- ¹² Includes St. Croix, St. Thomas and Tortola.
- ¹³ Includes Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica, Guadeloupe, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts and St. Martin.
- ¹⁴ Includes Barbados, Grenada, Martinique and St. Vincent.
- ¹⁵ Includes Curacao and Sal Tortuga.
- ¹⁶ For the convenience of those who are interested in the ownership of the West Indian islands the following compilation is offered:

BRITISH WEST INDIES: Bahamas (New Providence, Turk Island, West Caicos), Bermudas, Jamaica, Leeward Islands (Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica [after June, 1761], Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts), Virgin Islands (Tortola) and the Windward Islands (Barbados, Grenada [after February, 1762], St. Vincent [after February, 1762]).

DANISH WEST INDIES: St. Croix and St. Thomas.

DUTCH WEST INDIES: Curacao, St. Eustatius and St. Martin (southern half).

FRENCH WEST INDIES: Dominica (until June, 1761), Guadeloupe, including the northern portion, Grande-Terre (British from May, 1759 to February, 1763), Grenada (until February, 1762), Martinique (British from February, 1762 to February, 1763) and St. Martin (northern half).

SPANISH WEST INDIES: Cuba (British from August, 1762 to February, 1763), Hispaniola (the eastern portion, i.e. Santo Domingo), Porto Rico and Sal Tortuga.
- ¹⁷ Includes Honduras and the Mosquito Shore.
- ¹⁸ Includes Surinam (Essequibo).
- ¹⁹ Includes Albany, Bristol, Cowes, Dartmouth, Dover, Exeter, Falmouth, Hull, Liverpool, London, Newcastle, Plymouth, Swansea, Tingmouth, Topsham, Waterford, Whitby, Whitehaven and Workington.
- ²⁰ Includes Ayr, Glasgow, Greenock, Irvine, Kircaldy, Kirkwall, Leith, Orkneys and Stromness.
- ²¹ Includes Belfast, Cork and Newry.
- ²² Includes Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man.
- ²³ Includes Hamburg.
- ²⁴ Includes Amsterdam and Rotterdam.
- ²⁵ Includes Faro, Figueira, Lisbon, Oporto and St. Ubes.

²⁶ Includes Alicante, Barcelona, Bilbao, Cadiz, Corunna, Ferrol, Ivica, Malaga and St. Lucar.

²⁷ Although geographically a part of Spain, Gibraltar is listed separately, being a British colony.

²⁸ Includes Cagliari and Leghorn.

²⁹ Includes Fayal and Western Island, the eighteenth-century name for the Azores.

³⁰ Includes Teneriffe.

³¹ Includes Bonavista and the Isle of May.

TABLE III

The Termini of Boston's Trade, by Specific Ports, 1752-1765¹

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Africa	C. E. T.	... ... 1	1 ... 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 ... 1	... 1 1	2 ... 2	5 ... 5	3 4 7	4 3 7	5 ... 5	3 ... 3	2 ... 2
Alicante	C. E. T.	... ... ...	1 ... 1	2 ... 2	... ... ...	... 1 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	3 ... 3	1 1 2
Amsterdam	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	4 ... 4
Anguilla	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...
Annapolis	C. E. T.	1 ... 1	... ... ...	3 ... 3	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 ... 1	2 ... 2	... ... ...	5 ... 5	4 1 5
Annapolis Royal	C. E. T.	2 ... 2	12 2 14	8 5 13	4 1 5	7 ... 7	9 ... 9	4 ... 4	1 ... 1	2 1 3	1 ... 1	... ... ...	1 ... 1	.........
Antigua	C. E. T.	... ... ...	4 4 8	3 1 4	1 8 9	3 3 6	15 2 17	6 1 7	2 ... 2	... 1 1	2 2 4	1 3 4	3 4 7	2 2 4
Ayr	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... 1 1	... 1 1	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........
Barbados	C. E. ...	6	12 7 ...	11 6 ...	14 10 ...	7 4 ...	12 4 ...	7 1 ...	1	5 1 ...	22 4 ...	9 4 ...	12 9 ...	8 5 ...

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Africa	C.	55	75	.....	.....	50	.....	140	245	235	260	255	225	110
	E. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	.....	.....	205	130	.....	.....	.....
	T.	55	75	.....	.....	50	30	140	245	440	390	255	225	110
Alicante	C. ....	.....	80	140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	300	90
	E. ....	.....	.....	.....	45	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60
	T. ....	.....	80	140	45	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	300	150
Amsterdam	C. ....	.....	.....	.....	40	.....	.....	115	.....	.....	295	.....	.....	370
	E.	75	150	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	T.	75	150	.....	40	.....	.....	190	.....	.....	295	.....	.....	370
Anguilla	C. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E. ....	.....	325	.....	.....	.....	.....	380	.....	.....	175	.....	255	.....
	T.	85	325	.....	.....	.....	.....	380	.....	.....	175	.....	255	.....
Annapolis	C. ....	.....	140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	80	.....	173	125
	E.	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40
	T.	40	140	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	80	.....	173	165
Annapolis Royal	C.	510	340	143	262	385	150	280	46	65	50	.....	40	.....
	E.	65	200	35	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	.....
	T.	65	540	178	262	385	150	280	46	125	50	.....	40	.....
Antigua	C.	200	136	40	340	1,625	538	480	300	.....	100	80	490	55
	E.	140	35	330	116	95	45	180	.....	60	120	120	185	190
	T.	340	171	370	456	1,720	583	660	300	60	220	200	675	245
Ayr	C. ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E. ....	.....	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....
	T.	80	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....
Barbados	C.	920	565	685	495	610	325	285	50	250	1,432	527	820	530
	E.	420	305	520	240	130	80	50	.....	55	243	210	490	255
	T.	410	870	1,205	735	740	405	335	50	305	1,675	737	1,310	785

Table III—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Belfast	C. E.	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	2 ...	1...	......
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...
Bermuda	C. E.	... ...	3 1	3 2	... 1	... ...	... 1	4 5	... 1	1 1	1 ...	2 2	1 1	1 ...
	T.	...	4	5	1	...	1	9	1	2	1	4	2	1
Bilbao	C. E.	2 ...	5 ...	7 ...	2 1	3 2	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	1 1	1 ...	2 ...
	T.	2	5	7	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	2
Bonavista	C. E.	... ...	... ...	... ...	... 1	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	... 1
	T.	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Bristol	C. E.	3 2	3 6	2 4	3 3	5 4	1 3	2 5	1 3	5 6	13 8	3 7	8 8	5 6
	T.	5	9	6	6	9	4	7	4	11	21	10	16	11
Cadiz	C. E.	... ...	... 7	1 13	3 8	2 12	2 3	... 1	4 ...	2 3	... ...	1 4	5 7	1 3
	T.	...	7	14	11	14	5	1	4	5	...	5	12	4
Cape Fear	C. E.	1 ...	5 2	5 ...	1 ...	... ...	2 2	... ...	... ...	... 1	... ...	... ...	1 ...	1 ...
	T.	1	7	5	1	...	4	...	...	1	...	...	1	1
Cape Verde Islands	C. E.	... ...	... 1	... 1	... 1	... 2	... ...	... 1	... ...	... ...	... ...	1 ...	... ...	... 1
	T.	...	1	1	1	2	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1
Chignecto	C. E.	... ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	14 ...	4 ...	... ...	3 1	3 ...	3...	......	......	......
	T.	...	...	...	14	17	4	...	4	3	3	...	...	...
Cork	C. E.	1 1	... 1	... 2	2 2	1 ...	... 1	... ...	1 1	1 ...	2 ...	1 ...	1 5	......

[illegible]

Table III—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Cowes	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 ... 1	.........	.........	.........	.........
Dartmouth	C. E. T.	... ... ...	1 ... 1	... ... 1	1 ... 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	2 1 3	.........	.........	.........
Dominica	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1	7 8 15	4 7 11	4 2 6
Dover	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1	... 1 1	... 1 1
Essequibo	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 2 2	1 ... 1	... 2 2
Europe	C. E. T.	... ... ...	8 ... 8	10 ... 10	3 ... 3	9 ... 9	4 ... 4	2 ... 2	2 ... 2	4 ... 4	2 ... 2	2 ... 2	2 ... 2	1 ... 1
Exeter	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 ... 1	... ... ...	1 ... 1	.........
Falmouth	C. E. T.	... ... ...	1 ... 1	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........	.........
Fayal	C. E. T.	1 ... 1	1 7 8	... 7 7	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1	... 1 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	2 1 3	2 4 6	.........
Figueira	C. E.	... ...	... ...	... 2	... ...	1 ...	1 ...	... ...	... ...	... ...	1 2	... ...	1...	......

[illegible]

Table III—*continued*

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Fort Cumberland	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 ... 1	... 1 1
Georgia	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	2 2 4	1 3 4	5 3 8	3 1 4	5 3 8
Gibraltar	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	3 2 5	2 ... 2	7 4 11	1 2 3	2 ... 2	.........	.........
Glasgow	C. E. T.	2 ... 2	3 3 6	1 1 2	7 ... 7	4 1 5	... 5 5	2 3 5	... ... ...	2 2 4	4 3 7	3 2 5	3 4 7	4 ... 4
Grande-Terre	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 7 7	... 2 2	... 7 7	... 13 13	... 2 2	.........	.........
Great Britain	C. E. T.	... ... ...	1 ... 1	... ... ...	2 ... 2	... ... ...	1 ... 1	1 ... 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 ... 1
Greenock	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 3 4	... 3 5	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1	... ... ...	1 2 3	... 1 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1
Grenada	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... 1 1	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1 3 4	4 7 11	13 9 22	... 6 6
Guadeloupe	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	3 2 5	9 5 14	14 12 26	10 8 18	... 6 6	1 6 7	2 2 4
Guernsey	C. E. T.	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	... ... ...	1	1	1......	.........

[illegible]

Table III—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

	1752 (d)	1753 (abcd)	1754 (abcd)	1755 (abcd)	1756 (abcd)	1757 (abc)	1758 (abd)	1759 (abcd)	1760 (ad)	1761 (abcd)	1762 (abcd)	1763 (acd)	1764 (abcd)	1765 (abc)
Halifax	C. E.	11 1	37 9	24 5	37 17	48 10	60 2	69 13	75 6	25 3	34 16	23 15	23 7	17 14
	T.	12	46	29	54	58	62	82	81	28	50	38	30	31
Havana	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	...
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...
Hispaniola	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5	1	...
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	3
Honduras	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hull	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ireland	C. E.	1 1	3 1	3 ...	...	2 ...	1 ...	2 ...	1 ...	...	6 3	4 ...	...	3
	T.	2	4	3	...	2	2	1	...	1	9	4	...	3
Isle of Man	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Isle of May	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ivica	C. E.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	T.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jamaica	C. E.	14 6	26 17	21 16	9 15	14 14	9 12	12 2	19 10	13 3	14 7	18 4	7 12	7 9
	T.	20	43	37	94	28	21	14	20	16	21	20	10	...

	(d)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abc)	(abd)	(abcd)	(ad)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(acd)	(abcd)	(abc)	
Halifax	C. E.	465 30	1,663 420	984 205	1,578 775	2,057 555	2,413 95	2,687 570	2,935 205	1,101 120	1,880 583	1,326 689	970 651	770 690
	T.	495	2,083	1,189	2,353	2,612	2,508	3,257	3,140	1,221	2,463	2,015	1,621	1,460
Havana	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	125	145 100	..........
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	125	245	.....
Hispaniola	C. E.	..... .....	..... 60	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 115 185	..... 225
	T.	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	115	225
Honduras	C. E.	..... .....	..... 265	..... 510	..... .....	30 428	30 40	..... .....	100 170	..... 180	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 105
	T.	.....	265	510	.....	458	70	470	270	180	.....	.....	.....	105
Hull	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	75 .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	50 .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	100 .....	..... .....	70 190
	T.	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	50	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	108
Ireland	C. E.	50 85	210 60	165 .....	..... .....	148	48	185	125 .....	..... .....	100	509 275	404	305
	T.	135	270	165	.....	148	48	185	125	.....	100	784	404	305
Isle of Man	C. E.	..... .....	60	105 .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	120
	T.	.....	60	105	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	225	120
Isle of May	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 180	..... .....	..... .....	..... 120	..........	..........	..........	..........	..........
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	180	.....	.....	120	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ivica	C. E.	..... .....	..... 40	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 75
	T.	.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	75
Jamaica	C. E.	1,105 355	2,387 1,190	1,773 1,080	515 910	875 725	515 610	1,095 75	2,469 1,005	1,665 160	1,325 465	1,245 225	1,115 230	555 685
	T.	1,460	3,577	2,853	1,425	1,600	1,125	1,170	3,474	1,825	1,790	1,470	1,345	1,240

Table III—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

[illegible]

	(d)	1733 (abcd)	1734 (abcd)	1735 (abcd)	1736 (abc)	1737 (abd)	1738 (abcd)	1739 (abc)	1740 (abd)	1741 (ad)	1742 (abcd)	1743 (abcd)	1744 (acd)	1745 (abcd)	1746 (abc)
Maryland	C. E.	478 120	1,146 770	1,065 893	548 972	426 716	550 521	941 803	1,051 911	705 668	1,806 2,173	2,197 1,618	959 1,255	1,302 968	904 1,489
	T.	598	1,916	1,958	1,520	1,142	1,071	1,744	1,962	1,373	3,979	3,815	2,214	2,270	2,393
Monte-Christi	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	50 .....	..... .....	419	60 .....	..... .....	40 260	95 180	..... .....	50 230	..... 115
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	.....	419	60	.....	300	275	.....	280	115
Montreal	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 100	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	40	70.....	..........	..........	..........
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	70	.....	.....	.....
Montserrat	C. E.	..... .....	..... 160	..... 90	..... 60	..... .....	..... 60	..... .....	..... 100	52 .....	..... 140	..... 75	..... .....	..... 70	..........
	T.	.....	160	90	60	.....	60	.....	100	52	140	75	.....	70	.....
Mosquito Shore	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 60	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 20	..... .....	..... .....	..... 45
	T.	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	.....	.....	45
Nevis	C. E.	..... .....	60 90	135 420	..... 95	35 112	145 148	330 .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 45	100 77	..... .....	..... 220	..........
	T.	.....	150	555	95	147	293	330	.....	.....	45	177	.....	220	.....
Newcastle	C. E.	..... 775	..... 705	..... 800	..... 298	..... 690	75 290	..... 220	..... .....	..... 275	35 176	100 600	100 1,290	280 380	..... 575
	T.	775	705	800	298	690	365	220	.....	275	211	700	1,390	660	575
Newcastle-on-Delaware	C. E.	..... 17	65 65	50 15	32	55 20	..... 70	75 160	..... 200	40.....	..........	..........	..........	..........	..........
	T.	17	130	65	32	75	70	235	200	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Newfoundland	C. E.	50 133	1,696 40	2,056 40	1,205 665	761 90	465 40	340 145	893 230	210 320	1,090 738	1,172 682	1,313 876	1,882 1,010	2,178 235
	T.	183	1,736	2,096	1,870	851	505	485	1,123	530	1,828	1,854	2,189	2,892	2,413
New Jersey	C. E.	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... 30	..... 255	..........	..........	..........
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	30	255	.....	.....	.....

Table III—continued

NUMBER OF VOYAGES

[illegible]

[illegible]

	(d)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(abc)	(abd)	(abcd)	(ad)	(abcd)	(abcd)	(acd)	(acd)	(add)
St. Eustatius	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....
	E.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	245	.....	436
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	337	.....	436
St. Kitts	C.	185	95	844	225	730	515	668	325	343	395	138	50	50
	E.	.....	250	565	40	98	75	240	115	232	275	100	35	35
	T.	185	345	1,409	185	828	590	908	440	575	670	238	85	85
St. Lucar	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E.	.....	300	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	190	190
	T.	.....	300	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	190	190
St. Martin	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E.	.....	243	80	.....	.....	35	255	.....	1,300	1,160	245	115	115
	T.	.....	243	80	.....	.....	35	255	.....	1,300	1,160	245	115	115
St. Thomas	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
St. Ubes	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E.	.....	300	310	.....	.....	.....	250	.....	.....	.....	120	.....	.....
	T.	.....	300	310	.....	.....	.....	250	.....	.....	.....	120	.....	.....
St. Vincent	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	77	77
	E.	206	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	150	.....	.....
	T.	206	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	150	.....	77
Sal Tortuga	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	E.	.....	440	731	.....	.....	50	80	.....	60	170	150	681	681
	T.	.....	440	731	.....	.....	50	80	.....	60	170	150	681	681
South Carolina	C.	130	900	1,186	805	71	188	360	230	705	920	1,480	525	525
	E.	20	400	202	240	201	115	153	175	175	330	484	300	300
	T.	150	1,300	1,388	1,045	272	303	513	405	880	1,250	1,964	825	825
Surinam	C.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	590	590
	E.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	265	702	992	75	630	630
	T.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	.....	265	702	992	310	1,220	1,220

Table III—continued

[illegible]

[illegible]

NOTE TO TABLE III

¹ For the purpose of this table a "port" is the terminus of the voyage as given in the Naval Office Lists, even though such a place is obviously not a port in the correct sense of the term. It should be noted further that in order to conserve space those termini, which appeared in one year only, are grouped together in the appended sub-table.

Termini which Appear in One Year Only

Termini	Year	Clearances To Voyages	Clearances To Tonnage	Entries From Voyages	Entries From Tonnage	Termini	Year	Clearances To Voyages	Clearances To Tonnage	Entries From Voyages	Entries From Tonnage
Albany	1759	1	50			Newry	1763	1	80		
Barcelona	1753	1	80			Orkneys	1764	3	100		
Basseterre	1761	...	...	1	30	Pensacola	1765	2	85		
Belle Isle	1765	1	60			Petersburg	1763	1	100		
Cagliari	1756	...	...	3	390	Plymouth	1763	...	...	1	35
Canso	1764	...	...	2	95	Porto Rico	1764	...	...	2	80
Cape Breton Isl.	1764	...	...	1	70	Roanoke	1765	1	40		
Chaleur, Bay of	1764	...	...	1	20	Rotterdam	1762	1	35		
Corunna	1757	1	100			St. Lawrence R.	1758	1	75		
Curacao	1754	...	...	1	30	Santo Domingo	1764	...	...	1	60
Faro	1765	...	...	2	120	Scotland	1753	1	40		
Ferrol	1756	1	70			Spain	1755	1	50		
Florida, Coast of	1757	...	...	2	135	Stromness	1758	1	40		
Hamburg	1765	1	65			Tingmouth	1762	1	60		
Irvine	1752	...	...	1	80	Waterford	1762	...	...	2	110
Jersey	1764	1	115			West Caicos	1765	...	...	1	70
Kirkcaldy	1753	...	...	1	80	Whitby	1765	2	342		
Leeward Islands	1752	1	150			Wilmington	1752	1	17		
Long Island	1764	...	...	2	30	Workington	1765	...	...	1	65

TABLE IV

List of Voyages with Multiple Termini,
by Year, 1752-1765

CLEARANCES TO

<i>Year</i>	<i>Termini</i>	<i>Voyages</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>
1752	.....	
1753	.....	
1754	Isle of Man & Glasgow	1	105
1755	.....	
1756	Ireland & Bristol	1	100
1757	.....	
1758	Ireland & Great Britain	1	125
	Ireland & Liverpool	1	60
	Jamaica & Monte-Christi	1	35
1759	Ireland & Liverpool	1	125
	New York & Philadelphia	1	55
1760	Cork & Bristol	1	90
	Halifax & Louisbourg	1	30
1761	Ireland & Liverpool	1	100
1762	Cork & Bristol	2	160
	Halifax & Louisbourg	2	90
	Halifax & Newfoundland	1	60
	Louisbourg & Quebec	1	30
1763	Belfast & Bristol	1	110
	Cork & Glasgow	1	120
	Halifax & Newfoundland	1	35
	Ireland & Glasgow	1	124
	Newfoundland & Liverpool	1	80
1764	Africa & Barbados	1	75
	Africa & Dominica	1	60
	Cork & Hull	1	70
	Isle of Man & Liverpool	1	90
1765	Cape Fear & Roanoke	1	40
	Halifax & Louisbourg	1	50
	Halifax & Quebec	1	45
	Ireland & Liverpool	3	305
	Isle of Man & Liverpool	1	120
	Louisbourg & Newfoundland	3	130
	Newfoundland & Africa	1	50
	Nova Scotia & Newfoundland	1	25

ENTRIES FROM

1752	London & Madeira	1	50
	Swansea & Cork	1	75
1753	Anguilla & St. Kitts	1	55
	Isle of May & Madeira	1	50
	Lisbon & Fayal	1	120
	Newcastle & Montserrat	1	80
	Swansea & Cork	1	75

<i>Year</i>	<i>Termini</i>	<i>Voyages</i>	<i>Tonnage</i>
1754	Anguilla & Barbados	2	75
	Anguilla & St. Eustatius	1	20
	Barbados & Sal Tortuga	1	40
	Nevis & Sal Tortuga	1	50
	London & Cadiz	1	80
	Swansea & Cork	1	50
1755	London & Cadiz	1	80
1756	Barbados & Sal Tortuga	1	60
	Cagliari & Teneriffe	1	120
	South Carolina & New York	1	45
1757	Bristol & Cork	1	50
	Nevis & St. Kitts	1	38
1758	Bristol & Cork	1	50
1759	Bristol & Teneriffe	1	50
	Grande-Terre & St. Kitts	1	35
1760	Bristol & Cork	1	65
1761	Guadeloupe & Montserrat	1	50
	London & Newcastle	1	80
1762	Barbados & Sal Tortuga	1	80
	Ireland & Monte-Christi	1	180
	Jamaica & St. Martin	1	50
	Martinique & St. Martin	4	305
	St. Kitts & St. Martin	1	90
1763	Antigua & St. Martin	1	50
	Barbados & St. Martin	1	40
	Bristol & Swansea	1	80
	Grenada & Martinique	1	100
	Martinique & St. Martin	1	40
	Newfoundland & Halifax	1	50
	St. Kitts & St. Martin	1	30
1764	Anguilla & Grenada	1	60
	Barbados & St. Kitts	1	40
	Barbados & Sal Tortuga	1	70
	Bristol & Hull & Cork	1	90
	Cork & Halifax	1	45
	Grenada & Turk Island	1	80
	Liverpool & Cork	1	35
	London & Cork	1	250
	London & Lisbon	1	508
	Louisbourg & Canso	1	55
	Newfoundland & Cape Breton	1	70
1765	Annapolis & Ft. Cumberland	1	40
	Barbados & Sal Tortuga	3	135
	Bonavista & Turk Island	1	50
	Dominica & Martinique	1	180
	Grenada & Sal Tortuga	1	50
	Grenada & St. Thomas	1	100
	Hull & Newcastle	1	100
	Jamaica & Mosquito Shore	1	45
	London & Newcastle	1	160
	St. Croix & Turk Island	1	40
	St. Thomas & Turk Island	1	50
	Whitehaven & Workington	1	65

April Meeting, 1948

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEADODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 April 1948, at a quarter before nine o'clock. Due to the illness of the President, the Vice-President, the Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT, took the chair. In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL was designated as Recording Secretary *pro tempore*.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Vice-President reported the death on 2 February 1948 of THOMAS WILLIAM LAMONT, a Corresponding Member.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ROBERT EPHRAIM PEABODY, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON and CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Mr. RICHARD WALDEN HALE, Jr., read the following paper:

Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, Lord of Douaquet

THE self-styled Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac¹ is an appealing and mysterious figure in early American annals, for his career from Maine to Louisiana catches one's imagination. Detroit reveres him as its founder, and has named after him the Bok-Cadillac hotel and an automobile. Bar Harbor sometimes calls him its first settler, and

¹ Though later writers and bibliographical dictionaries have varied the spelling to La Motte and La Mothe, Cadillac was almost unique among the French in Canada of his day in sticking to one signature, as above. See *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, xv. 56.

has named a mountain after him. New Orleans laughs at legends of his governorship. But to historians Cadillac is a problem for the records he left behind him, voluminous, witty, informative and entertaining as they are, seem warped. They are filled with petty discrepancies on points where it is hard to make a check. Indeed some of the discrepancies are not petty. Cadillac's origin for many years was a mystery, his marriage lines in Quebec contradicting his baptismal register in France.² Those who have tried to study his career, therefore, have been met with a problem of what records to believe, those Cadillac wrote, or most of the rest.

One solution of this dilemma was followed by the late Miss Agnes Laut. She chose to believe Cadillac implicitly, and to conjecture as to what facts had been omitted that would have reconciled his accounts with those of others. Another solution is followed by Father Jean Delanglez, who asserts that most uncorroborated statements by Cadillac are *ipso facto* false.³ However, rather than follow either of these methods of interpretation I should like to suggest another way in which to reconcile Cadillac's statements with the actual facts. Is it not possible that he embroidered upon the truth with a clear cut purpose in mind? He seem to have well understood a truth about the French Ministry of Marine and acted on it. That truth was that what gained a man advancement was not what he did but what the clerks in the ministry thought he had done. Therefore, the moment he secured the right to correspond with the ministry, he "improved" the facts of the case to build up a legend about himself by virtue of which he became, successively, Governor of Michilimackinac, founder and Governor of Detroit, and Governor of Louisiana. This belief comes from searching out an unexplored segment of Cadillac's life, the years 1687-1689, when he tried to found a seigneurie at Douaquet, at the head of Frenchman Bay, Maine, and then seized the opportunity of being the pilot of an unsuccessful naval attack on New York to make his fortune. The clever way he twisted the record of his doings to his advantage, the steady purpose behind his actions, the way that purpose was carried through throughout the rest of his time in America, all suggest a means of correcting for misstatements by Cadillac. All his actions seem means directed towards the double end of seeming to be a noble and of acquiring an estate.

The starting point, therefore, for considering his career at Douaquet is

² Edmond Roy, *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives a l'histoire de Canada* (Ottawa, 1911), pp. 998-1000; *Bulletin de la Societe Historique de Tarn et Garonne*, XXXV. 175-196.

³ Agnes Laut, *Cadillac, knight errant of the West* (Indianapolis, Bobbs Merrill, 1931), *passim*; Jean Delanglez, "Cadillac's early years in America," *Mid-America*, XXVI (1944, n. s. XV). 4, 12-13.

not identifying that name with the Sorrento peninsula and Waukeag Neck, that being the Douaquet or Adowake of the Abenaki Indians.⁴ What is important about his attempt at settlement is not where he made it, but what part that attempt played in an over-all program of self-advancement. For, when the probable facts about Cadillac's early life are laid alongside the unsubstantiated statements he made about his doings, a pattern emerges.

These seem to be dependable facts about those years. Cadillac was the son of Jean Laumet, a local judge at St. Nicholas de Gave and a lawyer practising before the Parlement or regional supreme court at Toulouse. After spending some time on the Acadian coast, in 1687 he married Marie Therèse Guyon, the daughter of the armorer at Quebec, and niece of the privateersman, François Guyon. He then brought her back to Acadia, made plans for setting up on a large scale in that part of Acadia which is now eastern Maine, got embroiled in Acadian politics on the side of Royal Scrivener Matthieu Gouttins and against Governor de Menneval, and raised some capital by dividing his wife's inheritance with her family. Then, in the spring of 1688 he tried to settle at the head of Frenchman Bay—just where seems uncertain though probably at either Waukeag or Sorrento—and was there found by Sir Edmund Andros, when Sir Edmund was trying to expel the French from eastern Maine and in the process was making a census of settlers between the Penobscot and the St. Croix. In consequence of Sir Edmund's visit, Cadillac moved back to Port Royal and in 1689 threw his real and valuable energies into helping build a fort, winning the praise that "he was the only man who acted with good will in the king's service in that country." Then the man who so praised him, Capitaine de la Caffinière, of the frigate *Embuscade*, took him on board as a pilot for a raid on New York, known to the French planners of it by the prophetic name of "the Manhattan Project." This raid failed utterly, with the result that Cadillac wound up at La Rochelle dead broke, and therefore justified in writing to the Ministry of Marine for pay. Here was a precious opportunity for self-advertizement, which Cadillac took so effectively as to become the Ministry's expert during "King Williams's War" for operation plans on the New England coast, and so to set his foot on the ladder he was to climb to later success.⁵

When Cadillac reported these same events, much fiction was added. At his marriage he called himself Antoine de Launay, son of Jean de Lamothe, judge of the Parlement of Toulouse and Lord of Cadillac,

⁴ New Brunswick Historical Society, *Publication* No. 13, p. 94.

⁵ L'Abbe H. A. Verreau, *Quelque notes sur Antoine de Lamothe de Cadillac*, n.p. n.d., 6-10; Archives de France, Marine, series B 12, pp. 86-87; Colonies, series C II D 2, 119 vo; Massachusetts Historical Society. *Collections*, series III, vol. 1. 82.

Launay and Lemontel. In 1694 he asserted he had so bravely defended Douaquet he deserved the title of Baron de Lamothe. In 1719, as a make-weight in genuine claims of loss at Detroit, he asserted large though undescribed losses at Douaquet as well. When in 1689, he wrote to the Ministry of Marine about his unusual abilities, he made provable false statements. He said he could speak not only French but English, Dutch, and "sauvage," though to the end of his life he had to use interpreters when dealing with Indians. He said he was the only nobleman in Acadia and had been chosen to command an attack on New England when in fact, at the moment he wrote, a genuine nobleman in Acadia, the Baron de St. Castin, was leading such an attack.⁶ Why should a sensible man lie like this?

The reason seems clear, once one remembers that only noblemen could hold high military office, and that a poor nobleman had no chance to rise. The lies Cadillac told were well designed to help on his career. When he asserted he was Antoine de Launay, the son of the Lord of Cadillac, Launay, and Lemontel, he made a bluff he was sure would not be called for a long time, indeed that was not called until he got back to France, in the 1720's.⁷ As the son of a lawyer who had practised in the Toulouse Parlement he could easily pass himself off as the son of a justice. No one in Canada could cross question him searchingly enough to expose him. But, if he were the son of a justice, he belonged to the legal nobility, the *noblesse de la robe*, and as such would be eligible for the highest of commissions. Was not the commander against Frederick the Great the Marshal Belle-Isle, son of such a noble? Only one question could be asked of him, why was a man of such birth and prospects in Canada. But that question he had answered before it was asked. By calling himself De Launay, at the time of his marriage, that is by taking the name of his father's imaginary second estate he proclaimed himself a second son. What would be more natural than for a second son to have had to leave the army for honorable reasons, perhaps debt, perhaps a duel, about which he had rather not talk, and to seek his fortune in Canada? At that moment, in Maine, there was such an ex-army officer son of a noble, Jean d'Abbadie son of the Baron de St. Castin⁸ and former Ensign in the regiment of Carignan-Salières, who has

⁶ Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 999; Paris, *Bib. Nat. Clairambault mss.* 849, p. 70; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections*, XXXIII (1904). 648-649; *Clairambault mss.* 882, pp. 143-144; Delanglez, *op. cit.*, 19-29.

⁷ In the Margry papers, *Bib. Nat. Mss.* fr. n.a. 9299, folio 1, Father Delanglez has found a reference to correspondence about the alleged nobility of Cadillac's family in the Archives de la Gironde, series C 128 and 131.

⁸ For St. Castin see Pierre Daviault, *Le Baron de St. Castin, chef Abenakis* (Montreal, 1946).

left his name on the town of Castine. If Cadillac murmured that he had been a cadet of Dampierre or of Clairambault,⁹ and obviously changed the subject, who would be so impolite as to press him further? Or if the self-styled Antoine de Launay announced he had received a letter from France telling of the death of an elder brother and thereafter styled himself Cadillac, who would raise questions? Such a letter did come to Jean d'Abbadie, who thereafter correctly styled himself de St. Castin. Nor would it be surprising if the Sieur de Cadillac like the Baron de St. Castin, chose to stay in Canada rather than return to be a petty noble. One neat lie, closely stuck to, would give Cadillac a favored position for getting one of the few commissions the Governor of Canada could hand out. With the need of trained officers so great, nobody would write across the Atlantic to check up on an able man whose story and behaviour were plausible, and who appeared fully capable of doing jobs that needed being done.

But a mere title of nobility was not enough. One had to have something to live on, especially when one was married and had a family. In the Canada of those days, the way to wealth was the development of a seigneurie. But it was slow and boring work, developing an agricultural estate. The way to get ahead quickly was to combine war and the fur trade. By such a combination, in 1700, Charles Le Moyne got himself made Baron de Longueuil, thus founding a peerage that to this day is accepted in the British Empire, the present Baron de Longueuil, indeed, being related to the royal family through a connection by marriage with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.¹ Why should not Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac advance by that route?

That would leave one question, where to get a seigneurie where fur and war could be found. Acadia offered opportunities. Its politics offered a chance to play both ends against the middle. Its seigneuries were little controlled, until 1699,² when a series of investigating commissions tried to enforce regulations. There were no Jesuits, as at Michilimackinac, to report independently against one; there was no fur trade monopoly. Furthermore Cadillac may have known Acadia well. He said he did, and wrote an able memoir on its waters, of which copies numbered 76 and 78 are still on file in Paris.³ It has been conjectured that Cadillac served with his uncle-in-law, François Guyon, the idea apparently originating with

⁹ Colonies D 2c, 222, 556 (Alphabet Lafillard); Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *op. cit.*, p. 648; see further, Delanglez, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-7.

¹ *Burke's Peerage*, 1949 (99th) Edition (London, 1949), p. 2205.

² Colonies. C II, D 3, 103; D 4, 4 and 36.

³ Colonies. C II D 2.

Clarence M. Burton and being copied without acknowledgement so often as to gain credence.⁴ As for war, New England was close by.

Acadia, in 1688, in the eyes of the French, extended as far west as Thomaston, Maine. It was a region believed to be wealthy, on good evidence, from its fur trade, for which, for more than half a century, French, Scotch, English and Dutch had struggled. During the 1630's and 1640's the Latours and De Launay had fought a feudal war in the course of which the Latours had fortified their claims by accepting Scotch baronetcies of Nova Scotia. After Cromwell's armies had been disbanded, Colonel Sir William Temple had taken the Acadian fur monopoly in lieu of a pension and done well by it. In 1672, Jean Talon, the real founder of French Canada, had considered Acadia so important as to plant seigneuries on its border even before he planted them near Montreal. In 1676 the semi-piratical Dutch West India Company had taken over Acadia as booty from the Penobscot to Canso and had made a good thing out of it till forced to disgorge when peace was signed. After the Dutch had gone—here was where Cadillac's chance came—a series of adventurers had settled in the present eastern Maine, from Thomaston to Quoddy, taking title from grants of seigneuries made in Quebec. By 1705 there were seven such seigneuries, all at points of transshipment of furs from canoe to sailing vessel: Grandchamp at the present Thomaston; Hauteville at Naskeag; Douaquet in Frenchman Bay; Thibeaudeau near Cherryfield; Magesse at Machias; St. Aubin at Passamaquoddy; and Descoudet inside Quoddy Bay. Two of these, Hauteville and Thibeaudeau, were paper grants, apparently never occupied. The Siegneur of Hauteville appears again in Quebec jail; sly old Pierre Thibeaudeau preferred to live profitably at the head of Minas Basin on another man's land. But the other grants made money. The Lefebvres of Grandchamp, though evicted by Captain Church in 1703, as late as 1725 were hoping to go back to their seigneurie and did fealty for it. Martel and Dubreuil of Magesse came to blows often with the St. Aubins of Passamaquoddy over the profitable seal rookery on Machias Seal Island. Michel Chartier of Descoudet was rich enough to give his wife silk stockings for Yankee plunderers to carry off. In later years other proofs of such wealth appeared, when Yankee farmers and railway builders dug up coin hoards.⁵ Here was a chance to build up wealth, on the very frontier.

⁴ See Clarence M. Burton, *In the footsteps of Cadillac* (Detroit, 1899).

⁵ For accounts of this "forest feudalism" see Edmond Rameau de St. Pere, *Une Colonie Feodale en Amerique, L'Acadie* (Paris), 2 vols., 1889, Daviault, *op. cit.*, and Richard W. Hale, Jr., *The Story of Bar Harbor* (New York, Ives Washburn, 1949).

What more natural to assume that Cadillac saw the opportunities of this "forest feudalism" when he came to Acadia, and that if he had lived at Douaquet he would have lived as did the other seigneurs? The phrase "forest feudalism" has been used here because these seigneuries were so different from the usual agricultural seigneuries of Canada proper. Censuses of Acadia show in these seigneuries no sawmills and gristmills such as were supposed to be built, no small but steadily growing population of "habitants" settled on the land, no priest and church. Instead they list small arsenals for defense, a few occasional white, unmarried servants to act as garrison, and a small but steadily growing population of resident Indians, come presumably and in some records avowedly, to trade. The most one finds of farming is a tiny vegetable garden. Nor are the sites of the seigneuries chosen for agricultural reasons. They are at the mouths of rivers, where Indian canoes can transship furs to seagoing vessels. Note the parallel to Detroit, in the days when Cadillac was its first governor. Vegetable gardens, an attempt at seigniorial grants of land through the governor and not direct from the King, fur trade all in Cadillac's hands, a growing Indian center, the parallel to Acadia is close. Even more so is the parallel to Douaquet, even to the point that at both places Cadillac tried to raise his near nobility of a seigneur to true nobility, at Douaquet to a barony, at Detroit to a marquisate. The parallel is so close to make one wonder what was in the letter Matthieu Gouttins wrote about the plans of the Sieur de Cadillac, 2 September 1689.⁶ Perhaps this in words foreshadowed the settlement of Detroit on the principles of feudal free enterprise, as Cadillac's actions certainly did. Certainly, when Cadillac's career is looked at in this light, a good measure of consistency appears where it had been absent. Given the aims of a noble title and wealth in the fur trade, Cadillac's careful warping of his official record becomes explicable.

⁶ Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *op. cit.* xxxiii. 165, 651-653, 663, 670. *Ibid.*, xxiv. 19-29, has an inventory of Cadillac's possessions at the end of his stay that shows what wealth could be secured at Detroit. Gouttins' letter is in Colonies C II, D 2, dated 2 September 1689 and misfiled under 1690.

Journey to Hadley

15 May 1948

ON SATURDAY, 15 May 1948, twenty-six members of the Society journeyed to Hadley at the invitation of Dr. JAMES LINCOLN HUNTINGTON. The group left the Club of Odd Volumes in Boston at a half after nine o'clock in the morning in a Boston and Maine Transportation Company bus, escorted by a motorcycle trooper of the State Police, and arrived in Hadley shortly after noon. The Society visited the First Church of Christ in Hadley, where the communion silver was on display, and the Farm Museum before proceeding northward to Dr. Huntington's home. A buffet luncheon was served in the remodelled coach house at a half after one o'clock, and the Society then visited the Porter-Phelps-Huntington house. The bus started on its return journey at four o'clock and arrived in Boston shortly after six o'clock in the evening.

In commemoration of this visit, the Society distributed to its Members in 1949 copies of *Forty Acres, The Story of the Bishop Huntington House*, written by Dr. HUNTINGTON and illustrated with photographs by Mr. SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN, also a Resident Member of the Society.

Annual Meeting

November, 1948

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Saturday, 20 November 1948, at a quarter after six o'clock in the evening, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Hon. RAYMOND SANGER WILKINS, of Salem and Mr. EDWARD ELY CURTIS, of Wellesley, were elected to Resident Membership, and Mr. CARL BRIDENBAUGH, of Williamsburg, Virginia, was elected to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Report of the Council

IT is appropriate to begin with a tribute to the men whom we have met to honor tonight. It is one paragraph by James Rawson Gardiner in the chapter on the sailing of the Mayflower in his history of England in the reigns of James I and Charles I. "All these considerations urged the exiles [in Leyden] to seek another home. The ideal of the pure and sinless community which they hoped to found was still floating before their eyes, and was drawing them on as it receded before them. Let us not stop to inquire whether such an ideal was attainable on earth. It is enough that in striving to realize it, they did that which the world will not willingly forget."

The Society has held three meetings since the last annual meeting. In December, at the Club of Odd Volumes, Mr. C. E. Goodspeed read a paper. In February, Mr. S. E. Morison contributed the gastronomy and Mr. Edmund S. Morgan the history, again at the Club of Odd Volumes. In April, our President entertained the Society at his house and Mr. Richard Walden Hale, Jr., was the speaker.

There have been no publications during the year. The Editor has in

preparation another volume of *Transactions* and another volume of Harvard College Records; and Mr. Allis is at work on the Black papers concerning Maine lands.

Two Resident Members elected at the last Annual Meeting are now enrolled: KENNETH JOHN CONANT and FREDERICK LEWIS WEIS. Six other Resident Members have also joined us: SAMUEL CHAMBERLAIN, JULIAN LOWELL COOLIDGE, BARTLETT H. HAYES, Jr., HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, CARLETON R. RICHMOND, and SIDNEY TALBOT STRICKLAND.

We have gladly welcomed two Honorary Members. It is very appropriate that one is a descendant of a founder of the Plymouth Colony, ROBERT F. BRADFORD; and the other is LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, a descendant of a founder of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

During 1948 the Society has lost two Corresponding Members, ripe in years and achievements:

THOMAS WILLIAM LAMONT, Corresponding, 1927, died on 2 February at the age of seventy-seven. Banker, benefactor of Exeter and Harvard, owner of the *New York Evening Post* in its last years of greatness and of the *Saturday Review of Literature* in its first years of promise. Like the merchants of London, he made possible the adventurous voyages of other men—through the seas of thought. Between the two World Wars, he reversed the course of the Pilgrims and sought to bring fruitful living and new ideas into the Old World. He failed as Raleigh failed at Roanoke, but his example makes us keep on trying.

CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD, Corresponding, 1928, died on 2 September, aged seventy-three. One of the very few Americans who has had the courage to resign. He gave up his career as professor of history in a university dominated, so he said, by "a small and active group of trustees, reactionary and visionless in politics and medieval in religion." Suggesting new lines of historical research, he wrote *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, but he did not believe in the economic interpretation of the Constitution, for his imaginative insight comprehended all the varied forces which brought about the rise of American civilization and shaped our Republic. Historians who reject the conclusions of his final books still remember that "A man's life is his whole life, not the last glimmering snuff of the candle."

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1948.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 14 NOVEMBER 1948

ASSETS

<i>Cash:</i>		
Income	\$11,857.50	
Loan to Principal	<u>7,223.83</u>	\$4,633.67
<i>Investments at Book Value</i>		
Bonds (Market Value \$138,600.88)	\$141,385.04	
Stocks (Market Value \$112,509.38)	83,464.31	
Savings Bank Deposits	<u>3,309.91</u>	228,159.26
TOTAL ASSETS		<u><u>\$232,792.93</u></u>

FUNDS

Funds	\$213,966.52
Unexpended Income	<u>18,826.41</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u><u>\$232,792.93</u></u>

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, 14 November 1947	\$11,913.26
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RECEIPTS:

Interest	\$2,582.50	
Dividends	5,315.30	
Annual Assessments	770.00	
Sales of Publications	89.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		8,756.80
		<u>\$20,670.06</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

New England Quarterly	\$2,800.00
Editor's Salary	1,500.00
Secretarial Expenses	860.00
Annual Dinner	797.51
Storage	300.76
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	403.79
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	176.72

Auditing Services	125.00	
Publications	385.15	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
General Expenses	11.25	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	308.56	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Prin- cipal	1,119.82	
		<hr/>
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		\$8,812.56
BALANCE OF INCOME, 14 NOVEMBER 1948		<hr/> <hr/> \$11,857.50

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended 14 November 1948, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

WILLARD G. COGSWELL
ARTHUR S. PIER
Auditing Committee

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Vice-Presidents Hon. FRED TARBELL FIELD

Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT

Recording Secretary ROBERT EARL MOODY

Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

Member of the Council for Three Years ROBERT EPHRAIM PEABODY

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. Mark Bortman, Mr. A. Stanton Burnham, Dr. J. M. Kinmonth, Mr. Storer Boardman Lunt, Mr. David McCord, Commander James C. Shaw and Professor Basil Willey. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

Mr. BASIL WILLEY, King Edward VII Professor of English Literature in the University of Cambridge, addressed the Society and its guests.

December Meeting, 1948

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 December 1948, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, JR., in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Treasurer, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from the Honorable RAYMOND SANGER WILKINS accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. HENRY HORNBLOWER, II, of Boston and Mr. WALDRON PHOENIX BELKNAP, JR., of Boston, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Reverend FREDERICK L. WEIS read a paper entitled:

The New England Company of 1649 and its Missionary Enterprises

THREE hundred years ago the New England Company for propagating the gospel among the Indians—the oldest Protestant foreign missionary society in the world—was chartered by Act of Parliament on 27 July 1649. This ancient corporation is still carrying on the work for which it was established, though now in places far removed from New England.¹

¹ For the business transactions of this corporation, and a general introduction to the whole subject, see: George Parker Winship, *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot* [*Publications of the Prince Society*, xxxvi] (Boston, 1920), and "Samuel Sewall and the New England Company" in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 55-110. Material concerning the missionary work in New England is abundant, an embarrassment of riches. Cf. J. Hammond Trumbull, "Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England," in "Report of the Council," 1 *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, LXI. 15-61, containing an appendix of "Books and Tracts in the Indian Language"; Daniel Gookin, "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, &c." 1674, in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 141-232; also Gookin, "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians, in New England in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677," *Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, II. 423-534; Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts* (London, 1727); "Acts of the Commissioners of the

But missionary work among the Indians had been started some years previous to this date. In his *Wonder Working Providence*, &c., completed in 1651 and first published in 1654, Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn describes the Indians as he knew them, and acquaints us with the beginnings of missionary work among them at that time. "The Indian people in these parts at the English first coming, were very barbarous and uncivilized, going for the most part naked, although the country be extreme cold in the winter-season." Their clothing was made of deer-skin. The women did all the work at planting time, while the braves spent their time hunting, fishing and fowling. As Captain Johnson affirms: "This is all the trade they use, which makes them destitute of many necessities, both in meat, drink, apparell and houses.

"As for any religious observation, they are the most destitute of any people yet heard of." Soon after the first settlement, the English attempted to bring them to the knowledge of God, particularly the Reverend John Wilson of Boston, who visited their sick and instructed others as they were capable of understanding him. "But yet very little was done that way, till . . . now of late years the reverend Mr. Eliot hath been more than ordinary laborious to study their language, instructing them in their own Wigwams, and Catechising their Children. As also the reverend Mr. Mayhewe, one who was tutored up in New England, and called to office by the Church of Christ, gathered at a small Island called Martins Vineyard; this man hath taken good pains with them." "Also Mr. William Leveridge, Pastor of Sandwich Church, is very serious therein, and with good success."²

Of the early Massachusetts tracts relating to the conversion of the Indians, now very rare, those which would have been known to Johnson,

United Colonies of New England," *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, David Pulsifer, Editor, ix-x (Boston, 1859); John W. Ford, *Some Correspondence Between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America, The Missionaries of the Company and Others Between the Years 1657 and 1712, To Which are added the Journals of the Rev. Experience Mayhew in 1713 and 1714* (London, 1896), xxxii, 128; also numerous letters and reports of the missionaries Eliot, Mayhew, Cotton, Bourne, the Tupper and Treat, and the tracts by Winslow, Eliot, Shepard, the Mathers, and other English and American divines; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*; Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, I. 18-23 [Eliot], 116-117 [Pierson], 131-133 [Missionary Mayhews], 183-186 [Treat], 318-321 [Peabody], 329-335 [Edwards], 388-393 [Sergeant], 497-499 [Hawley], 548-556 [West]; F. L. Weis, *Colonial Clergy and Colonial Churches of New England* (Lancaster, 1936); and the standard histories of Massachusetts and New England.

² Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*, J. Franklin Jameson, Editor (New York, 1910), 262-264.

at the time the above pages were written, are: *New Englands First Fruits* (1643), *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New England* (1647), *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospell breaking forth upon the Indians of New England* (1648), and *The Glorious Progress of the Gospell amongst the Indians of New England* (1649).³ These tracts express the hope that this good work may be continued by encouraging active young students at Harvard College to study the Indian language, converse with the natives, and preach to them "that so the gospell might be spread in those darke parts of the world."

William Wood's *New England's Prospect* (1633) mentions "one of the English preachers" who "hath spent much time in attaining to their language, wherein he can speake to their understanding, and they to his."

This undoubtedly refers to the Reverend Roger Williams who was probably the first to labor as a missionary among the Indians of Massachusetts, for he speaks of working among them when he was the Congregational minister of the First Church in Plymouth, 1631-1633, and later at Salem, before he was banished.⁴ After his settlement at Providence, he was chiefly concerned with the Narragansett Indians.

The Narragansetts, a warlike race, had subjugated the neighboring tribes before the white men came to America. Thus the Niantics, Cowesets, Shawomets and Nipmucs to the west and north, and the Wampanoags, Pocassets and Sakonnets to the east, as well as the Massachusetts Indians, were their vassals. Their domain extended from Weymouth to Mt. Wachusett on the north, and to the Atlantic on the east and south. The Narragansetts were persistently averse to Christianity, but friendly to Roger Williams apart from his missionary endeavors.⁵

In the preface to his *Key into the Language of America*, printed at London in 1643, Williams wrote: "My souls desire was to do the natives good, and to that end . . . God was pleased to give me a painful Patient spirit to lodge with them, in their filthy Smoke holes (even when I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue."

New England's Prospect, mentioned above, included five pages of Indian-English vocabulary. But Roger Williams' *Key* contained the first extensive vocabulary or study of the Indian language printed in English,

³ The first tract is reprinted in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 242-250; the three following tracts were reprinted in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. The latter contain letters by Mr. Eliot. *The Clear Sunshine*, &c. is by Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge.

⁴ Weis, *Colonial Clergy of N. E.*, 229.

⁵ Howard Millar Chapin's "Introduction" to Williams' *Key*, &c. (5th edition, Providence, 1936).

and "it must have been of great practical use to the missionaries, traders and early settlers in the outlying districts of New England."⁵

In his preface Mr. Williams dwells at considerable length upon the conversion of the Indians, so much to be desired. "For my selfe," he writes, "I have uprightly laboured to suite my endeavours to my pretences." Yet notwithstanding his efforts, he confesses that he cannot "report much." However, Wequash, a Pequot captain, before his death reminded Mr. Williams that two or three years previously they had spoken of God and Man. Said he, "Your words were never out of my heart to the present; me much pray to Jesus Christ." But aside from Wequash, Williams did not succeed in persuading the Indians to accept Christianity, and he soon gave up in discouragement. In England he had better success. Several prominent members of Parliament commended "his printed Indian labours" and when he returned to New England a year later, he brought with him a charter for his Rhode Island Colony, due perhaps in considerable measure to his *Key into the Language of America* and his unselfish missionary efforts.⁶

But the first instance of an Indian who really became a Christian was that of Hiacoomes, in the year 1643, at Martha's Vineyard. This resulted from the preaching and friendly attitude of the Reverend Thomas Mayhew, Jr., to the natives of his father's island possessions. By 1646 the younger Thomas had attained such mastery of the Indian language as to be able to preach to the natives in their own tongue without the help of an interpreter, and before the end of the year 1650 a hundred Indians of the Vineyard had embraced Christianity. Mr. Mayhew sailed for England on business connected with the future welfare of these natives in 1657, but, with all hands, was lost at sea, and the ship was never again heard from.⁷

As early as 1643, perhaps earlier, the Reverend John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," had begun his study of the Algonquin tongue, in order to preach in that language. To this end he discovered an intelligent Indian in the neighboring town of Dorchester who had learned to speak English with considerable success. "He was the first," wrote Mr. Eliot, "that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my Interpreter." In September, 1646, he spoke to the natives at Neponset. They listened sympathetically, but showed little interest in what he had to say. However, he kept coming back to them and eventually he won their confidence, first at Dorchester and later at Punkapoag, to which place they

⁶ Knowles, *Memoir of Roger Williams*, 52, 109, as quoted by Trumbull, *op. cit.*, 17.

⁷ Weis, *Colonial Clergy*, 139; Sprague, *Annals*, 1. 183.

soon removed.⁸ His next attempt was made at Nonantum (in Newton, near the Watertown line) on 28 October 1646. This time he was accompanied by Isaac Heath, an elder of the Roxbury church, the Reverend Thomas Shepard, minister at Cambridge, and Major-General Daniel Gookin, his friend and companion in this work from beginning to end, the historian and guardian of the Indians. Here at Nonantum Mr. Eliot founded the first community of Christian Indians within the English colonies. These Indians removed to Natick in 1651 where they were gathered into an Indian church in 1660.⁹ On alternating weeks he preached to the Natick and Punkapoag Indians for the next forty years. For the furtherance of this work of God, declared Governor Winthrop, several English colonists came to hear Mr. Eliot preach to the natives, and sometimes "the governor and other of the magistrates and elders" came, while the Indians, of their own accord, "began to repair thither" from other places. On one occasion the governor, with about two hundred people, Indian and English, were present.

At these services Mr. Eliot first proceeded to catechize the children, "who were brought to answer him some short questions, whereupon he gave each of them an apple or a cake." After this he began a service of worship with prayer in English. "Then he took a text, and read it first in the Indian language, and after in English; then he preached to them in Indian about an hour." That the work had its humorous side we learn from several long lists of questions and answers which followed the sermon. Finally he concluded with a prayer in the Indian tongue. At the Cambridge synod in 1647, Mr. Eliot preached to the Indians in their own language before the entire assembly.¹

We are apt to forget sometimes that Eliot did not do all this work unaided. Thus Mather tells us: "All the good men in the country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking, the ministers especially encouraged him, and those in the neighborhood kindly supplied his place," and performed part of his work at Roxbury for him while he was abroad laboring among the Indians. On the other hand, we are equally apt to forget the extraordinary difficulties he must have encountered as the first Englishman who learned to write in the Algonquin dialect and to speak it fluently. For the Algonquin was not a written language. In order to speak to the natives effectively, he was obliged to prepare, one after

⁸ Ebenezer Clap, *History of Dorchester* (Boston, 1859), 10-13.

⁹ John Winthrop, *Journal*, James Kendall Hosmer, Editor (New York, 1908), II. 224, 319.

¹ Winthrop, *op. cit.*, II. 318-321, 324.

another, catechisms, grammars, vocabularies, translations of the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, sermons and tracts, and eventually he translated the whole Bible into the Algonquin tongue. In time these were all printed and are a monument and a memorial to the industry and distinguished scholarship of a busy minister in a small colonial parish. Concerning this unselfish labor, he wrote: "I diligently marked the difference of their grammar from ours: When I found the way of them, I would pursue a Word, a Noun, a Verb, through all the variations I could think of. And thus I came at it. We must not sit still, and look for Miracles; Up and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and Pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do anything."²

We soon find him ranging farther afield. Each summer beginning with 1648 and for nearly thirty years thereafter, he made journeys to Lancaster and Lowell and Brookfield, and even as far as Woodstock, Connecticut. He visited regularly all the praying towns of eastern Massachusetts, and occasionally took his way through Middleborough or Plymouth to visit the Indian towns on the Cape and on Martha's Vineyard. His benevolent zeal prompted him to encounter with cheerfulness unpredictable danger, and to submit to the most incredible hardships. Once he wrote in a letter: "I have not been dry, night or day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth; but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots and wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps."³

The colonists became so interested in the work that he was doing that, on 26 May 1647, by Act of the General Court, it was "ordered, that £10 should be given Mr. Elliot as a gratuity from this Co'te, in respect of his greate paines & charge in instructing the Indians in the knowledg of God . . . and that some care may be taken of the Indians on the Lords dayes."⁴

Mr. Eliot was one of the most useful preachers in New England. No minister saw his exertions attended with greater success. He spoke out of the abundance of his heart, and his sermons were appreciated in all the churches. "His moral and religious character was as excellent as his ministerial qualifications were great." Such was his charity that he gave to the poor Indians most of his salary of fifty pounds which he received

² Walter Eliot Thwing, *History of the First Church in Roxbury* (Boston, 1908), 25-27.

³ Sprague, *Annals*, I. 19-20; Thwing, *op. cit.*, 29.

⁴ *Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, Editor (Boston, 1853-1854), II. 189.

annually from the New England Company for propagating the gospel.

On the day of his death he was found teaching the alphabet to an Indian child at his bedside. "Why not rest from your labors now?" asked a friend. "Because," replied the venerable man, "I have prayed to God to render me useful in my sphere and he has heard my prayer, for now that I can no longer preach, he leaves me still strength enough to teach this poor child his alphabet."

John Eliot died 20 May 1690 saying that all his labors were poor and small.⁵

These early attempts to convert the natives, while they demonstrate the charity and warmth of heart of Williams, Mayhew, Eliot and others, reflect also certain provisions set forth in the charters of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies. For the grant of these charters was, in fact, contingent upon the Christianizing of the Indians by the founders of New England.

The king expressly declared, in his grant to the Council of Plymouth in 1621, that "the principall effect which [he] can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion . . . of the people of those parts, unto the true worship of God and Christian religion."

Governor Edward Winslow and the people of Plymouth were strongly in sympathy with this goal. In his *Brief Relation*, printed in 1622, Governor Winslow declared that "for the conversion [of the natives] we intend to be as careful as of our own happiness; and as diligent to provide them with tutors for the . . . bringing up of their children of both sexes, as to advance any other business whatsoever, for that we acknowledge ourselves specially bound thereto." Until his death in 1655 no one worked more persistently to this end than he did, and it was in large measure due to him that the New England Company of 1649 owed its establishment.

Again, among the many long paragraphs of the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, one declared that to "wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde, and the Christian faythe," was, in the "royall intention and the adventurers' free profession, *the principall ende of this plantation*."⁶ And that these pledges might be had in perpetual re-

⁵ Thwing, *op. cit.*, 33-35; Sprague, *Annals*, I. 18-23.

⁶ *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, I. 17; Trumbull, *op. cit.*, 17, 16, to which may be added from the same author: Letter of Gov. Craddock to Endecott at Salem: "We trust you will not be unmindfull of the mayne end of our plantation, by indeavoringe to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the gospell," and oath of the governor and deputy-governor, which

membrance, the seal provided in England for the colony bore an Indian with extended hands, with Paul's words: "Come over and help us."⁷

With all these definite aims and commitments, perhaps we may wonder why so little progress appears to have been made, and also why more effective steps were not at once taken to convert the Indians. Actually there were some good reasons for this state of affairs. Stark necessity in the form of providing food and shelter caused our forefathers to wrestle with many difficulties unforeseen by the king and those who drew up the charters. Self-preservation was plainly the first duty of the colonists.⁸

Ignorance of the Indian language was another impediment, and it was natural that many thought that the Indians must first be taught English before they could receive religious instruction. President Henry Dunster of Harvard College was one of the first to take a realistic attitude in this matter. He insisted that "the way to instruct the Indians must be *in their own language*, not English."⁹

Then, too, John Eliot believed that civilization must precede Christianity for the natives, or at least go along with it, for "such as are so extremely degenerate must be brought to some *civility* before religion can prosper or the Word take place."¹ Concerning this, Trumbull wisely remarks: "Whatever anticipation of an eager acceptance of the Gospel by the natives may have been entertained by the colonists before coming to New England, was dispelled by nearer acquaintance with Indian life and character. For beads and strong-water, cloth and fire-arms, the red man's receptivity was ample. To the new religion he manifested indifference if not aversion."²

This was true, certainly, of all the Indians for a considerable period of time. All efforts of the Pilgrim Fathers to convert Massasoit and Philip, and their whole tribe, were calmly but firmly repelled. The Wampanoags were friendly with the Pilgrims, yet were not only afraid of Christianity, but definitely hostile to it. Uncas and the Pequots refused to have anything to do with it. The Narragansetts and the other tribes of Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut were wholly uncoöperative, even with their good friend Roger Williams. The Indians on the Cape, those around Boston, and those to the north and west of that town, were far from cordial to Christianity for many years after the settlement of the English. Only when Williams, Mayhew and Eliot began to speak

bound them to do their "best endeavor to draw on the natives of this country, called New England, to the knowledge of the true God."

⁷ Trumbull, *op. cit.*, 16. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 16. ⁹ Lechford, *Plaine Dealing*, 53.

¹ *The Day Breaking*, &c., 20. ² Trumbull, *op. cit.*, 18-19.

to the natives in their own language, and went out of their way to be friendly to them, did a few of the Indians deign to pay attention to the missionary endeavors of the whites.

But whatever the failings of others, "Mr. Eliot engaged in this great work of preaching unto the Indians upon a very . . . sincere account:—his compassion and ardent affection to them . . . in their great blindness and ignorance;—and to endeavour, so far as in him lay," to fulfill "the covenant and promise, that New England people had made unto their king, when he granted them their patent."³

While Eliot and Mayhew were busily engaged with the conversion of the Indians, Governor Edward Winslow, agent for the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies, sought to obtain subscriptions in England to continue this good work. The New England colonists were particularly indebted to him because, during the weeks of nervous tension following the execution of King Charles I, Governor Winslow was able to cause Parliament to vote the passage of his "Act for the promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England."⁴

Omitting the very interesting preamble, we come to these words: "Be it therefore enacted by this present Parliament, that for the furthering so good a work there shall be a Corporation in England . . . by the name of the PRESIDENT AND SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN NEW ENGLAND . . . consisting of sixteen, viz. a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants; and that William Steel, Esq., Herbert Pelham, Esq., James Sherley, Abraham Babington, Robert Houghton, Richard Hutchinson, George Dun, Robert Tomson, William Mullins, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Clud, Richard Floyd, Thomas Aires, John Stone, and Edward Winslow, citizens of London, be the first sixteen persons; out of whom, the said sixteen persons, or the greater number of them, shall choose one of the said sixteen to be president, another to be treasurer. They or any nine of them, to appoint a common seal. . . ."⁵

Moreover, "the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England in New England for the time being . . . are hereby ordered and appointed to dispose of the moneys [paid unto them by the Treasurer] in such manner as shall best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the Natives; and also

³ Gookin, "Historical Collections," &c., in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 170.

⁴ Winship, *New England Company*, xv; Gookin, *op. cit.*, 212.

⁵ Thomas Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, I (3rd edition, Boston, 1795), 150–160. Pelham, Hutchinson, Thompson, Floyd and Governor Winslow had lived in New England; James Sherley was interested in Plymouth Colony.

for maintaining of Schools and Nurseries of Learning, for the better education of the children of the Natives.”⁶

Finally, the Act ordered a general collection to be made for the purposes aforesaid in and through all the counties, cities, towns and parishes of England and Wales.⁷

This Act, and the New England Company of 1649 which it established, was thus passed by a Puritan Parliament; the collections were to be made from the Puritan parish churches throughout England and Wales; and the officers of the Company in England were Puritans then living in the city of London, of whom no less than five had lived in New England.⁸ Furthermore, the money collected was to be sent to and expended by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England, all of whom were required by law to be members of the churches of these colonies, which at that time were all Congregational, there being churches of no other denomination in those colonies. Finally, the New England missionaries to the Indians were Congregational ministers of the Puritan and Pilgrim churches of New England, and the Indians, when converted, became thereby members of Indian Congregational churches and congregations in the Indian praying towns. With such a strong Puritan background, the legal existence of the Company under this Act naturally and automatically ceased when Charles II was proclaimed King on 8 May 1660.

After this date more than a year went by during which the members of the old society ceased to function publicly. In the meantime, those members offensive to the new government under Charles II quietly withdrew. A royal charter was issued on 1 February 1661/2 in which the membership was enlarged from sixteen to forty-five, the new members chosen being more acceptable to the government of Charles II. Mr. Robert Boyle, brother of the Earl of Cork, was named “to be the first and present Governor” and the law courts decreed that the former properties of the Society might be retained by the new Company.

The new charter provided that “there be, and forever hereafter shall be, within this our kingdom of England, a Society or Company . . . by the name of the COMPANY FOR PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPELL IN NEW

⁶ Winship, *The New England Company*, xvii.

⁷ From a breviat of the Act in Hutchinson, *History*, I. 153-154. Mr. Winship gives much longer excerpts in his *New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot*, xiv-xix, q.v.; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, I. 635; G. D. Scull, “The Society for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel in New England,” *New England Hist.-Gen. Reg.*, xxxvi. 157-158.

⁸ See note 23 above.

ENGLAND, AND THE PARTS ADJACENT, IN AMERICA." The usefulness of this last phrase came a century later when, in 1786, the Company transferred its activities to Canada.⁹ But the new Company retained for a score of years the services of the Puritan Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England.

The dangers to which the colonists of New England were exposed, especially from the French in Canada, the uncertain temper of the Indians to the north and west, and, indeed, from the Indians within their borders, had resulted in the adoption, in 1643, of certain articles of confederation by the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven. By these articles the above-named colonies entered into an offensive and defensive league, the cost of wars to be borne in proportion to the male inhabitants of each colony, Massachusetts to furnish one hundred men and the others forty-five each. This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by Charles I, Cromwell and Charles II from its beginning until 1686 when a commission from King James II revoked its powers and legal existence.

Each colony elected two commissioners annually to act together with the others as a unit in dealing with the Indians. They chose a President from among their number and met during the first part of September each year at Boston, Plymouth, New Haven and Hartford in rotation until 1664, after which time they met every three years, the Massachusetts members attending to matters in the meantime.

After 1649 the supervision and distribution of funds for the Christianizing of the Indians became a special and principal part of the business of the Commissioners and was efficiently performed by them until after King Philip's War when the Indians were so much reduced in strength and numbers that the work became less vital, and the gospelizing of the natives also received less of their attention. Each year the Commissioners sent a letter to the Governor and Company in London, giving a report of their activities during the year, with their financial accounts, and frequently reports from the missionaries in the field were also enclosed with the annual letters. By 1680 the affairs of the New England Company were practically in the hands of the Massachusetts and Plymouth commissioners with the occasional assistance of a member from Connecticut. New boards were appointed in 1685, 1699 and 1704, each containing some of the former commissioners, but supplemented from time to time as need arose with members of the clergy, magistrates, governing officials

⁹ Winship, *op. cit.*, vii, xix-xx, xxxvii-xliv; the new charter is printed in the appendix to Birch's *Life of Boyle*, 319-335. Gookin, *op. cit.*, I. 213-219.

and Boston merchants, who remained in office until removal or death, up to the time of the American Revolution.¹

From 1649 to 1685 these commissioners were the principal men and the most distinguished group of citizens of the four colonies. Thereafter, until 1775, they were chiefly from Boston and vicinity. Among them were twenty-three colonial governors and ten deputy-governors, while the rest were high ranking military officers, clergymen, councillors, judges and merchants. Their secretaries and treasurers were highly competent gentlemen, sympathetic to the needs of the missionaries and the Indians. Since they were the chief administrative officers of the Company in New England for a century and a quarter they deserve to be named: Edward Rawson, William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall, Adam Winthrop, Anthony Stoddard and Andrew Oliver.

In the seventeenth century Major-General Humphrey Atherton, Major-General Daniel Gookin and Captain Thomas Prentice served successively for life as Superintendents of the Indians of Massachusetts by commission from the General Court of this colony.

Before discussing the Act of 1649 we reviewed briefly the missionary endeavors of Roger Williams and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., together with a longer glimpse of the work of John Eliot and the efforts of Governor Winslow to obtain assistance in England towards the continuation of this good work. We must now summarize the missionary labors of several Massachusetts clergymen who were able, with the assistance of the New England Company, to continue and amplify their work in the gospelizing of the Indians of this colony.

To understand the spiritual ascendancy of the Mayhews over the Indians, we must glance for a moment at their political standing at Martha's Vineyard. Thomas Mayhew, the elder, a merchant in Southampton, England, settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1631. He soon purchased the English and Indian rights to the island of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the Elizabeth Isles and settled on the Vineyard where he became Governor, Chief Justice and the Lord of the Manor of Tisbury until his death in 1682. He was succeeded as Chief Magistrate by his grandson, Major Matthew Mayhew, who also became Lord of the Manor of Tisbury. By 1690 every available office on the island was filled by a member of the Mayhew family. But soon after the death of the elder Thomas, his progeny turned to more spiritual offices.

When the Reverend Thomas Mayhew, Jr., was lost at sea in 1657 the Indians begged the old Governor of the same name to continue the

¹ Hutchinson, *History*, I. 118-120, 153-160.

ministrations of his son, which he did with commendable success until his death at the age of ninety years. Following him, the Reverend John Mayhew, son of the younger Thomas, devoted his life to the Indians. He, in turn, was succeeded by his son, the Reverend Experience Mayhew, a very scholarly man though not a college graduate, who, in 1709, translated the Psalms into the Indian language, and who received an honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard College in 1723. Mr. Mayhew also kept a journal of his two missionary visitations to the Indians of Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1713 and 1714.² He published his *Indian Converts* in 1727, being the lives of thirty Indian ministers and eighty other pious Indians on Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the neighboring Elizabeth Islands.³

Three sons of Experience Mayhew prepared for the ministry, the eldest, Nathan, dying as a very young man. The second was the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., minister of the West Church in Boston, celebrated as an orator and patriot. The Reverend Zachariah Mayhew, youngest of the three, then began his lifelong service as a preacher of the gospel to the Indians of Chilmark and Gay Head. He died in 1806, the last of his name to serve in this capacity, thereby bringing to an end the period of 163 years devoted by members of the family to missionary work among the natives of this island.⁴

John Eliot wrote of them: "If any of the human race ever enjoyed the luxury of doing good, if any Christian ever could declare what it is to have peace . . . we may believe that was the happiness of the Mayhews."⁵

While most of the Mayhews remained on one island and the Tupperes served one church, the Reverend John Cotton, Jr., of Plymouth taught in all the praying towns of Plymouth Colony from Provincetown to Middleborough and from Pembroke to Sakonnet, walking or riding many scores of miles each year, sleeping often in the wigwams of the Indians and sharing their slender meals. Mr. Cotton, who was the son of the famous Boston divine of the same name, was called in 1664 to preach to

² Printed in Ford, *Some Correspondence, &c.*, pp. 97-127.

³ Now a very rare volume. A copy may be found at the American Antiquarian Society.

⁴ Much of the above data relating to the Mayhews comes from a brief résumé of a paper read before the annual meeting of the Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy at King's Chapel, Boston, 4 May 1936, by the Reverend Abbot Peterson, D.D., on "The Mayhew Oligarchy." For further discussion in great detail see Col. Charles Edward Banks, *The History of Martha's Vineyard*, 3 volumes.

⁵ An appendix to Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, 1727, by Thomas Prince, gives biographical details of the lives of the elder Mayhews and their work among the Indians.

the English at Edgartown. His nephew, Cotton Mather, tells us that soon "He hired an *Indian* . . . for *Fifty Days*, . . . to teach him the *Indian Tongue*; but his Knavish Tutor . . . ran away before *Twenty Days* were out. However, in this time he had profited so far, that he could quickly Preach unto the Natives" which he did for about two years, assisting Mr. Mayhew. He was ordained at Plymouth in 1669, where he remained until 1697. Besides this charge he was missionary to the Indians of Plymouth and vicinity. Thus in 1674, he preached regularly at Titicut and Acushnet, besides supervising and occasionally preaching in the thirty-two praying villages of Plymouth Colony and on the Cape, having several hundred praying Indians under his charge. In 1685 Governor Thomas Hinckley reported to the New England Company that, besides officiating in Plymouth, Cotton instructed the Indians at Saltwater Pond, at Middleborough and at Pembroke.

His son, Josiah Cotton, said of him: "My father was of a strong healthy constitution, so that he was not hindered by sickness for above one day from his public labors for 20 to 30 years together."

The Reverend Thomas Prince wrote that Mr. Cotton, being well acquainted with the Indian language, was desired by the Indian Commissioners to correct Mr. Eliot's (1663) version of the Bible. His method was: "while a good Reader in his study read the English Bible aloud, Mr. Cotton silently look'd along in the same place in the Indian Bible: & where he thot of Indian words which he judg'd could express the sense better, There He substituted them, & this 2d Edition is according to Mr. Cotton's correction."

Again, in 1688, Mr. Eliot wrote to the Honorable Robert Boyle, Governor of the New England Company: "I must commit to" Mr. Cotton "the care and labour of the revisal of two other small treatises, viz: Mr. Shepheard's *Sincere Convert* and *Sound Believer*, which I translated into the Indian language many years since."

A number of Mr. Cotton's reports to the New England Company in London and to the Commissioners at Boston have survived and may be found in print.

His son, Josiah Cotton of Plymouth, labored as an Indian missionary in Plymouth Colony and on the Cape from 1707 to 1744 and compiled a dictionary of the Indian language. Another son, Roland Cotton, was settled as minister of the Sandwich church, but also worked among the neighboring Indians as a missionary, 1691-1722.⁶

Like the Eliots, the Mayhews, the Cottons and the Tupperes, several

⁶ Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, I. 496-508; Weis, *Colonial Clergy of N. E.*, 62-64.

generations of the Bourne family were also Indian missionaries. The first, the Reverend Richard Bourne, settled in Sandwich about 1641, where he was Deputy to the General Court and member of the Council of War. This noble-hearted man began his labors for the temporal and spiritual good of the Indians soon after his arrival at Sandwich. About the year 1660, at his own expense, he obtained from the Indian owners a deed of sixteen square miles of land for the benefit of the Mashpee Indians, that they might have a place where they could remain in peace and security from generation to generation. The deed was so drawn that "no part or parcel of the lands could be bought by or sold to any white person or persons, without the consent of all the said Indians," and the deed was ratified by the General Court of Plymouth Colony. Here at Mashpee Mr. Bourne was ordained minister by Eliot and Cotton, on 17 August 1670, and at the same time the Indian church at Mashpee was gathered. It consisted of his disciples and converts, amongst whom he had preached and worked since 1662, and so continued until his death in 1682. Much of this time, too, he had general oversight of the praying towns on the Cape.

He was followed by his grandson, the Honorable Ezra Bourne, Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Barnstable, who served as a missionary among the Mashpee Indians, though probably not ordained, until his death in 1764. His son, the Reverend Joseph Bourne, Harvard College, 1722, was ordained at Mashpee, 26 November 1729, and preached to the natives here until 1742, after which he served as a missionary and guardian to the Cape Indians for the remainder of his life, dying in the year 1767.

Barber declared in 1834: "This is the largest remnant of all the tribes of red men west of the Penobscot River, who, but a little more than two centuries ago, were fee-simple proprietors of the whole territory of New England." The population of Mashpee in 1930 was 361, all of some Indian descent.

The Mashpee church is important because it was the mother church of the many Indian praying towns on the Cape. In 1674 there were twenty-seven in full communion and ninety baptized persons in this church, and 350 praying Indians on the Cape, living in twenty-two praying villages, of which the largest and most important was Mashpee.

Besides preaching to the Mashpee Indians, Richard Bourne was supervisor, preacher and teacher to these other praying towns, as were his successors in the Mashpee church.⁷

Like the other missionary families, the Tupper family furnished sev-

⁷ Weis, *Colonial Clergy of N. E.*, 36-37.

eral generations of missionaries. They founded the Indian church at Herring Ponds, Sagamore, in the northern part of Sandwich (now Bourne), and extending into the southern part of the town of Plymouth. A meeting house, built for these Indians by the personal contribution of Judge Samuel Sewall, was finished here in 1691.

Captain Thomas Tupper, born in Sandwich, England, 1578, settled in Sandwich, Plymouth Colony, 1637, where he became the first minister and missionary at Herring Ponds from 1658 until his death in 1676, aged ninety-eight years. He also served the town of Sandwich as Captain and Deputy to the General Court for nineteen years. Captain Thomas Tupper, Jr., succeeded his father as minister and missionary to these Indians from 1676 until his death in 1706, also serving as Captain, member of the Council of War for Plymouth Colony, selectman for fourteen years, town clerk, and Deputy to the General Court for eight years. He married Martha Mayhew of the missionary family of that name on Martha's Vineyard. Their son, Eldad Tupper, appointed to act for the Indians here as minister and missionary among them, though probably not ordained, died at Sandwich in 1750. His son, Elisha Tupper, born at Sandwich, 1707, succeeded as minister and missionary at Herring Ponds from 1739 to 1787, dying at the age of eighty years. Four generations of Tupperes served this church 129 years. In 1792 one hundred and twenty Indians remained here.⁸

Last of the missionaries of whom we must speak is the Reverend Samuel Treat, who labored among the Indians at the eastern end of the Cape, preaching to them in their own language for forty-five years until his death in 1717. The Nauset Indians were living in 1685 in Provincetown, Truro, Wellfleet, Eastham and Orleans; the Monomoy Indians in Chatham; and the Potanumoquut Indians in Orleans and Harwich. Together they numbered about 246 souls in 1674, though Mr. Treat declared that there were five hundred of them in 1693.

Mr. Treat made himself so perfectly acquainted with their language that he was able to speak and write it with great fluency. Once a month he preached in the several villages. At other times four Indian preachers, whom he had trained, read to their congregations the sermons he had written for them. He translated the *Confession of Faith* into the Nauset dialect, which was printed. He visited his charges in their wigwams, but before his death a fatal disease swept away a great number of them. In 1764 there remained four Indians in Eastham, eleven in Wellfleet, and

⁸ Weis, *Colonial Clergy of N. E.*, 209.

ninety-one in Harwich; but by 1800 only three remained in Harwich and one in Truro.⁹

Time will not permit us to review the lives of many another worthy, interesting as they are. For we must now ask the question: "*What did the New England Company of 1649 accomplish?*"

For nearly half a century the Reverend John Eliot worked unselfishly and unsparingly among the Indians. Six generations of missionary Mayhews labored and preached and died among the natives of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. The Reverend John Cotton, Jr., and his sons Josiah and Roland, inspected the praying towns of Plymouth and the Cape, visiting and preaching among them for nearly a century. Four generations of Tupperes supervised and preached to the Indians at Herring Ponds. Three generations of Bournes ministered to the church at Mashpee and throughout the Cape region, while fifty more missionaries gave part of their lives to this good work in several sections of the Commonwealth.

Most of these pioneer missionaries selected and trained able native assistants, some as circuit teachers and preachers in the praying towns, and others as settled pastors of the Indian churches. As the Indian population of Massachusetts shrank in numbers with the passing years, fewer native preachers were available. Thereupon neighboring clergymen were persuaded to preach to the Indians for another generation or two until 1786, when the Corporation in London transferred its activities to the "parts adjacent" in Canada.

Early in its history Harvard College was granted money by the New England Company to educate Indians for the ministry among their own people, a dormitory at the college was built to house them, money was provided for books and small libraries, many religious tracts were printed in English and in the Algonquin language, as well as John Eliot's translations of the Bible, salaries were paid to most of the English missionaries and native preachers by the New England commissioners, and smaller payments were made as time went on to a steadily increasing number of other clergymen engaged in part time work, and to deserving natives.¹

From 1649 to 1775 eighty-three Commissioners managed the affairs of the London Corporation in New England. There were seventeen Indian churches in Massachusetts, five more in Rhode Island and Connecticut, ninety-one praying towns in New England and four early Roman Catholic missions in Maine. Of all these, only the churches at Mashpee and Gay Head survive today. Seventy-two New England clergymen

⁹ Weis, *op. cit.*, 208; Sprague, *Annals*, I. 183-186, cf. 184; Gookin.

¹ Gookin, *op. cit.*, I. 212-213.

were missionaries and preachers, and 133 Indians preached in the various churches and praying towns.

Probably the year 1675 marked the high point of this whole missionary enterprise, for after that period the Indians began to disappear, largely because of drink and tuberculosis, and because they were not able to stand up under the civilization imported by the colonists. Today probably not a single person of pure Indian descent remains in New England, and those Indians who have survived are of mixed origin in whom Negro and Portuguese blood forms a considerable factor.²

During its long existence the New England Company has been severely criticized from time to time by persons ignorant of its true character, or by others who were jealous of those in authority. But, as Mr. Winship declares, "The dominating impression left upon a reader of the letters that passed between Corporation and Commissioners during the Society's first decades is one of high integrity and serious consideration of the obligations assumed by those who had undertaken this trust."³ In April, 1651, the Corporation wrote, "'Tis strange to see what and how many objections arise against the work, some from ill management of former gifts bestowed on the country of New England . . . some upon ourselves, the Corporation, as if we had so much per pound of what is collected or might feast ourselves liberally therewith, whereas through mercy we never yet eat or drank of the fruit of it; and neither have had or expect a penny or pennyworth for all the pains we shall take."⁴

Governor Thomas Hutchinson remarked in 1765, in his *History of Massachusetts*: "Perhaps no fund of this nature has ever been more faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was raised."⁵ This is high praise from an astute observer whose own father had been a commissioner of the Company for many years, and who was himself intimately acquainted with all of the commissioners for at least a generation.

² During the discussion which followed the reading of this paper at the meeting of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts on 23 Dec. 1948 one of the gentlemen present declared that some of the Maine Indians were still of pure native stock. The present writer is very glad to note this correction, though no disparagement was intended by his remark. He has known several Gay Head Indians for whom he has the highest respect. Note also the last paragraph concerning the Gay Head Church (No. 33 in the appendix *below*). Concerning that paragraph, it may be said that these were descendants of the original stock of whom even Canonicus could be proud. F.L.W.

³ Winship, *op. cit.*, lii.

⁴ Winship, *op. cit.*, liii.

⁵ Hutchinson, *History*, I. 155*n*.

The Successors of the New England Company of 1649

In 1762 one hundred and four of the leading clergymen, colonial officials, public-spirited citizens and merchants of Massachusetts, who had the welfare of the Indians very much at heart, organized a "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America," which was duly chartered by the Massachusetts Legislature.⁶ All of the Commissioners of the old New England Company then living were named as incorporators. These were: the Reverend Andrew Eliot, D.D., the Reverend Thomas Foxcroft, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., the Honorable Thomas Hubbard, Treasurer of Harvard College, and the Honorable Andrew Oliver, Secretary and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts. Secretary Oliver's name heads the long list, and he is known to have been very deeply interested in the promotion of the proposed society. The government of King George III, however, disapproved of it, and the organization was therefore obliged to disband.

Twenty-five years later, at the conclusion of the Revolutionary struggle with Great Britain (the New England Company for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians having abandoned its work in the United States in 1786), seven members of the former, disallowed "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" joined with others, in 1787, in the formation of the present "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America."⁷ This society was at once incorporated by the General Court of Massachusetts and is still flourishing at a ripe old age of more than 160 years. The seven members of the new society who had belonged to the disbanded organization of 1762 were: Governor James Bowdoin, the Honorable Samuel Dexter, Lieutenant-Governor Moses Gill, the Honorable William Hyslop, Deacon Jonathan Mason, Lieutenant-Governor William Phillips and Deacon Ebenezer Storer. Probably none of the other members of the disbanded society were then alive.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of North America (1787) is limited to fifty members equally divided among the clergy and the laity of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts. Like the "Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers" and the "Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society," it was not dis-

⁶ Massachusetts *Acts and Resolves*, 1762.

⁷ James Frothingham Hunnewell, *History of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America* (Boston, 1887); Samuel Atkins Eliot, "From Scalping Knife to Can Opener: A Sketch of the Origins and Work of an Old Massachusetts Society," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVI. 107-125.

banded at the time of the doctrinal controversy of a century and a quarter ago. The fifty members are equally divided among liberal and evangelical Congregationalists. Many among its members have borne the most honored names in the history of this Commonwealth, and among its present membership are numerous descendants of the New England Commissioners of the original New England Company of 1649. Thus, three hundred years later, the work for which the ancient and honorable New England Company was founded by Act of Parliament—the “Propagating of the Gospel among the Indians . . . in North America”—still goes on.⁸

APPENDIX

I

Indian Praying Towns and Missions in New England

I. ASHLAND. *Magunkog Praying Town.*

Here, a little west of the present village of Ashland, the Reverend John Eliot established a praying town as early as 1669, for in that year it was called “a new town.” In 1675 it consisted of 11 families or about 55 souls. Of these eight were church members at Natick and 15 were baptized persons. According to Gookin, Magunkog (Makunkakoag or Magunco) means “a place of great trees,” and an old chestnut was still standing in 1874 measuring 22 feet in circumference, which attests to the strength and fertility of the soil. Part of the town was purchased for the praying Indians of Magunco with money given to Harvard College by Governor Edward Hopkins of Connecticut, a former Commissioner of the United Colonies and one of the 16 English members of the New England Company of 1649. Until 1823 these lands were rented to tenants at one penny sterling per acre.

Three thousand acres of land belonged to the praying town. “The Indians plant upon a great hill, which is very fertile. . . . Their teacher is named Job; a person well accepted for piety and ability among them. . . . They have plenty of corn, and keep some cattle, horses and swine, for which the place is well accommodated.” The Indian title was relinquished 20 June 1693 and the land was set off to Hopkinton, 13 December 1717, to become part of the town of Ashland in 1846. Willard Hubbard was missionary here, 1770–1778.

Indian preachers:

1669 Wohwohquoshadt

1716 Simon Ephraim

1675 Job Kattenanit

⁸ The present paper is a résumé of a manuscript by Frederick Lewis Weis, “The New England Company of 1649 and the Indian Missions in Colonial Times,” 1948.

2. AUBURN. *Pakachoog Praying Town.*

This town consisted of about 20 families, or about 100 souls in 1674. It was situated upon a fertile hill, partly in Auburn (formerly called Ward) and partly in Worcester, "and is denominated from a delicate spring of water that is there." Mr. Gookin continues: "As soon as the people could be got together, Mr. Eliot preached unto them; and they attended reverently. Their teacher [used in the ecclesiastical sense], named James Speen, being present, read and set the tune of a psalm, that was sung affectionately. Then was the whole duty concluded with prayer."

Messrs. Eliot and Gookin approved of James Speen. "This man is of good parts, and pious. He hath preached to this people almost two years; but he yet resides at Hassanamesit [i.e., Grafton], about seven miles distant. . . . Then I gave both the rulers, teacher, constable, and people their respective charges; to be diligent and faithful for God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the sabbath."

Native minister:

1672-1676 James Speen

3. BARNSTABLE. *Chequaquet (Weequakut) Praying Town.*

Weequakut (pronounced Chequaquet, and so spelled today) is in the southern part of Barnstable, at Centerville. In 1674 these Indians, with the praying Indians of Satucket (Harwich), Nobscusset (Dennis) and Matakees (Yarmouth), were grouped together as being 122 in number, of which 55 were men and 67 women. Thirty-three of this number could read, 15 could write, and four could read English. They were under the supervision, in turn, of Richard Bourne, John Cotton, Jr., Roland Cotton, Josiah Cotton, Daniel Greenleaf, Gideon Hawley and other English ministers.

Native preacher:

1698 Manasseh

4. BOURNE. *Cataumet Praying Town.*

This village was situated in the lower part of what is now the township of Bourne (formerly the west or second parish of Sandwich) on Buzzards Bay. There were 40 Indians here in 1674. (For preachers and missionaries, see Manamit [No. 6] below.)

5. BOURNE. *The Indian Church at Herring Ponds (1658).*

This Indian church was situated at Comassakumkanet (Herring Ponds), partly in Plymouth and partly in that section of Bourne known as Sagamore, west of the Cape Cod Canal, formerly part of the second precinct of the old town of Sandwich.

Roger Williams began preaching to the Indians at Plymouth in 1631 or 1632, John Eliot, the Apostle, began in 1646 and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., in the same year. Captain Thomas Tupper began in 1658, Richard Bourne about the

same time and John Cotton, Jr., in 1664. In his list of the first six churches (1673), Mr. Eliot mentions Martha's Vineyard, 1659, and Natick, 1660, but does not mention Herring Ponds Church, probably because it had not then been organized *as a church*. Yet Captain Tupper began his missionary work here in 1658. Thus this Indian parish is one of the oldest in New England. The church must have been gathered before the death of Captain Tupper in 1676. It is quite possible that Roger Williams preached to the Comassakumkanet Indians in 1631 or 1632.

The Tuppers also worked at Pompessisset, which was nearby. In 1693 there were 180 Indians connected with the Herring Ponds church under Thomas Tupper. In 1698 there was a meeting house and 348 Indians, in 1792 there were 192 Indians associated with the church, and in 1803 there were 64 Indians (49 adults, 14 males and 35 females; and 15 children). The Commissioners of Indian Affairs reported that there were still Indians living here in 1849. After 1767 Mr. Elisha Tupper removed to Pocasset but continued to preach here once a month.

Native ministers:

1674-1685 Charles of Mannamit	1720-1775 Solomon Briant
ca. 1698 Ralph Jones	1767-1770 Isaac Jeffrey
1698-1709 Jacob Hedge	

Missionaries:

1647-1654 William Leveridge	1707-1744 Josiah Cotton
1658-1676 Thomas Tupper	1738-1787 Elisha Tupper
1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.	1758-1807 Gideon Hawley
1676-1706 Thomas Tupper, Jr.	1774-1779 Duncan Ingraham
1691-1722 Roland Cotton	1812-1834 Phinehas Fish
1706-1750 Eldad Tupper	

Meeting house: 1689, finished by 1691, the gift of Judge Samuel Sewall to the Herring Ponds Indians.

6. BOURNE. *Mannamit Praying Town.*

Mannamit was situated in the upper part of Bourne near the southern entrance of the Cape Cod Canal. It was the name of a small river which emptied out of the Herring Ponds near the boundary of Plymouth and which formerly followed what is now the lower half of the Canal on the Buzzards Bay side. This place is now called Monument and covers the section of the town from Monument to the Canal. Mannamit was just being organized as a praying town when Richard Bourne made his survey of the Cape Indians in 1674. He was the supervisor of all the Cape Indians but the Tuppers were the preachers here.

Native preachers:

ca. 1674 Wuttananmattuk	ca. 1674 Peter, alias Sakantucket
ca. 1674 Meeshawin	ca. 1674 Charles of Mannamit
1720-1775 Solomon Briant	1757-1767 Isaac Jeffrey

Missionaries to the Bourne praying towns:

1674-1681	Richard Bourne	1722-1746	Benjamin Fessenden
1681-1691	John Cotton, Jr.	1729-1742	Joseph Bourne
1691-1722	Roland Cotton	1758-1807	Gideon Hawley

7. BOURNE. *Pisspogutt Praying Town.*

Supposedly shared the same ministers and teachers as Pocasset (see No. 8 below).

8. BOURNE. *Pocasset or Pokesit Praying Town and Church.*

This village, long a praying town, appears to have been organized as a church in 1767 when there were eight wigwams here. Mr. Tupper preached here at that time to a mixed congregation of Indians and whites (*Massachusetts Archives*, 33: 442). Its position was that of the present village of Pocasset, a few miles north of Cataumet, towards the Cape Cod Canal. It enjoyed the same missionaries as Mannamit (No. 6) above, but had, in addition, the services of Mr. Elisha Tupper when it became a distinct parish and church in 1767. Before 1767 it also had the services of two Indian preachers.

Native preachers (see also Mannamit above):

1725-1758	Joseph Briant	1758-1762	Joseph Papenah
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Minister (see also Mannamit above):

1767-1787	Elisha Tupper
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9. BOURNE. *Pompessisset Praying Town.*

This village was near the Herring Ponds Church and shared its ministers and missionaries. (See No. 5 above.)

10. BRANFORD, Conn. *Pierson's Mission to the New Haven Indians.*

The Reverend Abraham Pierson, settled minister of the Branford Congregational Church from 1645 to 1665, as early as 1652 began to preach among the Quinipiac Indians of the neighborhood in their own tongue. He published at Cambridge, 1658, *Some Helps for the Indians Shewing them How to improve their natural Reason, to know the True God, and the true Christian Religion, &c.* This he translated into the Quinipiac dialect used by the Indians around Branford. It is the only printed work in that dialect. But the good work which he started here was never completed for, with the English church of Branford, he removed to Newark, New Jersey, in 1665.

Missionary:

1652-1665	Abraham Pierson
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11. BROOKFIELD. *Quabaug Town.*

Mr. Eliot preached to the Indians at Quabaug in 1649 and 1655. The latter year he purchased 1,000 acres of land there for the site of a praying town. The people were friendly and favorable to the preaching of the gospel

and he was hopeful that a praying town might soon be started there. Gookin likewise declared: "There are two other Indian towns, viz. Weshakim and Quabaug, which are coming on to receive the gospel." Unfortunately the English settlement of Brookfield was sacked and burned during King Philip's War and these hopes were never realized. However, the Reverend Gideon Hawley was the Indian missionary at Sturbridge (in the Quabaug district), 1752-1758, and the Reverend Eli Forbes at Brookfield, 1760-1775.

12. CANTON. *Praying Town at Punkapoag.*

The Punkapoag (Pakomit or Pecunet) Indians were the Neponset Indians of Dorchester (q.v.) who had been granted this plantation of 6,000 acres by the town of Dorchester in 1656 and had settled here at that time. Dorchester then extended as far south as the present town of North Attleborough, and the Punkapoag settlement doubtless contained natives from this whole area now made up of the towns of Milton, Canton, Sharon, Stoughton, Foxborough and Mansfield as well as Dorchester proper. Punkapoag always remained a praying town rather than a church, although in 1669 there were at this place eight or ten probationers. Their church connection was with Natick. In 1675 there were 12 families of Punkapoag Indians, or about 60 souls. A year later, 10 November 1676, some 35 men and 140 women and children resided at Punkapoag and in Dorchester, Milton and Braintree. They were well behaved and comfortably situated.

"There is a great mountain, called the Blue Hill, lieth north east from it about two miles. . . . This is the second praying town. . . . They have a ruler, a constable, and a schoolmaster. Their ruler's name is Ahaton; an old and faithful friend to the English. Their teacher [preacher] is William Ahaton, his son; an ingenious person and pious man, and of good parts. Here was a very able teacher, who died about three years since. His name was William Awinian. He was a very knowing person, and of great ability, and of genteel deportment, and spoke very good English. . . . In this village, besides their planting and keeping cattle and swine, and fishing in good ponds, and upon Neponsitt river which lieth near them; they are also advantaged by a large cedar swamp; wherein such as are laborious and diligent, do get many a pound, by cutting and preparing cedar shingles and clapboards, which sell well in Boston and other English towns adjacent."

Punkapoag was one of the four places of stated worship in the Bay Colony in 1684. There was still one pure blood Indian here in 1849, the rest being of mixed blood. In 1857 the tribe was nearly extinct; "only some fifteen or twenty, and those mostly of mixed blood, remain." John Eliot, senior and junior, preached here once a fortnight for many years.

Indian preachers:

1656-1672 William Awinian
1674-1717 William Ahaton

1717-1743 Amos Ahaton
ca. 1742 Aaron Pomham

English missionaries:

1656-1690 John Eliot, Sr.	1680-1727 Peter Thacher
1657-1668 John Eliot, Jr.	1707-1727 Joseph Morse
1668-1671 Habakkuk Glover	

13. CASTINE, Maine. *Indian Mission*, 1611. Roman Catholic.

Pentagöet, now Castine, at the lower end of the peninsula on the east bank of the Penobscot River, was the seat of an early mission to the Indians under the charge of Father Peter Biard, a Jesuit priest. He soon removed to Mount Desert Island. Shortly thereafter a fort and trading station were established at Castine, and Father Gabriel Druillettes, a Capuchin priest, conducted a mission among the Tarrantine Indians, 1632-1646. In 1646 Friar Leo, also a Capuchin, supervised the erection of a chapel at Castine, with the assistance of Father Thevet, a Franciscan. Now extinct.

14. CHARLESTOWN, Rhode Island. *Indian Church*, 1702. X. Congregational.

This church had for its preacher the Reverend Samuel Miles. (But he is said not to have been the Harvard graduate by the same name who was living in the next township at the same time and was doing missionary work there!) He was followed by the Reverend Joseph Torrey.

Missionaries:

1702-1710 Samuel Miles	1770-1775 Edward Deake (part time)
1732-1791 Joseph Torrey	

15. CHARLESTOWN, Rhode Island. *Indian Baptist Church*, 1750.

The first minister of this church was James Simons, perhaps an Indian. His successor was the Reverend Thomas Ross, born at Westerly, Rhode Island, 11 September 1719. When he came here and how long he preached is unknown, except that he was here in 1770. In 1774 there were 528 Indians living in this town, many of whom later removed to New York State.

Ministers:

ca. 1750 James Simons	ca. 1770 Thomas Ross
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16. CHATHAM. *Monomoy Praying Town*.

The Monomoy Indians, never very numerous, seem to have disappeared by 1765. In 1674 Richard Bourne had general oversight of them. He reported that there were 71 praying Indians in this place, of whom 42 were adults and 29 were young men and maids. Of these 71, 20 could then read, 15 could write, while only one could read English. The Reverend Samuel Treat of Eastham preached to them regularly after that time. In 1685 there were 115 adults, but by 1698 there were only 14 houses, that is, about 84 Indians. In 1762, 30 are reported and long before 1800 there were none.

Indian preachers:

ca. 1685 Nicholas

ca. 1698 John Cosens

Missionaries:

1672-1681 Richard Bourne

1708-1726 Daniel Greenleaf

1672-1717 Samuel Treat

1729-1742 Joseph Bourne

17. CHILMARK. *Nashnakemmuck Indian Church, 1651.*

This Indian church was organized in 1674 but preaching had been conducted here for many years before that date. The first preacher, Momonequem, had been converted in 1649 and began preaching here in 1651. He was followed by John Tackanash who was ordained in 1670. He, with Japheth Hannit, had been ordained for Sanchacantacket (Oak Bluffs) with the idea that they were also to preach in the other Indian towns as well. Janawannit died in 1686 and was succeeded by William Lay, alias Panunnut. He was followed by Stephen Tackamason, son of Wuttattakkomason. The home of the Reverend Experience Mayhew was at the "Manor of Tisbury" here in Chilmark.

In 1674 there were 231 Indians in Chilmark and Gay Head, of whom 64 were in full communion. Preaching was continued by the missionaries of the island. In 1792 there were 25 Indians left but the church became extinct sometime after 1784.

Indian ministers:

1651- Momonequem

1683-1712 Japheth Hannit

1670-1684 John Tackanash

Died 1690 William Lay

1674-1686 Janawannit

1690-1708 Stephen Tackamason

Missionaries:

1647-1681 Thomas Mayhew, Sr.

1701-1723 Josiah Torrey

1673-1689 John Mayhew

1727-1752 Nathaniel Hancock

1694-1758 Experience Mayhew

1767-1806 Zachariah Mayhew

18. CHILMARK. *Muckuckhonnike Praying Town.*

There was an Indian praying town at this place of which we know nothing except that the preacher, Panupuhquah, died about 1664. He was an elder brother of William Lay. The Mayhews had the general oversight of this and the two following praying towns.

Native minister:

Died 1664 Panupuhquah

19. CHILMARK. *Praying town at Seconchgut.*

In 1698 there were 35 Indians in this town.

Native preachers:

1698-1713 Stephen Shohkow

1698-1718 Daniel Shohkow

20. CHILMARK. *Talhanio Praying Town.*

The native minister was:

1670-1684 John Tackanash

21. CONCORD. *Musketaquid Praying Town.*

The Indian name for Concord was Musketaquid. When the General Court granted the plantation of Nashobah to the natives of this vicinity in 1654 many Musketaquid Indians settled there.

The praying town at Concord was of a temporary nature and is chiefly important because of the fact that it contained many Christian Indians from outlying towns during 1675 and 1676. This was arranged through the personal benevolence of Mr. John Hoar of Concord who took pity upon the hungry and shelterless Christian Indians and allowed them to settle for the time being on his own land. He was a true friend to them and it was he who obtained the ransom and release of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, wife of the first minister at Lancaster.

The Indians at Musketaquid during King Philip's War were mostly Nashobahs, 58 in number, whereof 12 were able men, the rest being women and children. But so great was the fear and bigotry of some of the townspeople of Concord that Captain Moseley was able to march off with these Indians to Deer Island, in spite of the protests of Mr. Hoar. In his haste to be away with them Captain Moseley required the natives to leave behind six months' supply of corn and provisions. Because of this they had to be supported by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England during their stay on Deer Island. After the war most of these Indians settled at Natick.

22. DARTMOUTH. *Nukkehkummees Indian Church.*

Forty communicants lived here at Nukkehkummees and in other parts of the original town of Dartmouth in 1698, but by 1713 there were "very few in number" left. Mr. Cotton preached regularly here and at Acushnet. He was followed by the Reverend Samuel Hunt of New Bedford. William Simon or Simons was ordained by Japheth at Martha's Vineyard in 1695, and it was he who accompanied the Reverend Experience Mayhew as interpreter on his missionary trips to Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1713 and 1714. Japheth Hannit, who was ordained in 1670, often preached to these Indians, though he was regularly settled on the Vineyard.

Old Dartmouth contained the following praying settlements: Nukkehkummees, Acushnet (New Bedford), Assameekq, Cooxit or Acoaxet (Westport) and Sakonnet (Little Compton). Adjacent was Cooxissett (probably Rochester). The church here was gathered about 1690.

Indian preachers:

1670-1695 Japheth Hannit

1695-1718 William Simons

1711-1718 Samuel Holms

ca. 1770 Thomas Simons

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1708-1730 Samuel Hunt

23. DENNIS. *Nobscusset Praying Town.*

In 1685 the preacher for this town was Manasseh, at which time there were 121 Indians here and in the neighboring town of Harwich. (See data under Barnstable.)

Indian preacher:

1685-1698 Manasseh

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne

1681-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

24. DOCHET ISLAND, St. Croix River, Maine. *Mission, 1604.*

In 1603 Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, received a trading concession for "Acadia." The following spring he set sail with his Lieutenant, Samuel de Champlain, and four score colonists, including a Huguenot minister and a Catholic priest. They landed on Dochet Island 26 June 1604, which they called St. Croix, but they sailed away in the spring of 1605, and in August removed to Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The name of the Huguenot minister is not known, but that of the priest was Nicholas Aubrey (or d'Aubri). The Indian mission was abandoned in 1605.

25. DORCHESTER. *Neponset Praying Town, 1646-1656.*

The Neponset tribe of Indians, inhabiting the territory of what is now Dorchester and Quincy, were all who remained in 1630 of the much larger and more important tribe, the Massachusetts Indians, who had lived in the area extending in a semi-circle around Boston from Malden to Cohasset. At the time of the arrival of the colonists, this tribe was reduced to less than 100 braves. They made little or no progress in the arts of civilized life and soon lost most of the energy which they had possessed in their wandering life. In the spring they lived at the falls of the Neponset River (at Milton-Dorchester Lower Mills) to catch fish, and at planting time they removed nearer the sea for salt water fishing.

The first settlers felt much interest in these natives and great efforts were made to civilize and convert them to Christianity. But when John Eliot first preached to them in 1646 he met with little encouragement. Believing that they should live a good distance from the white settlers to better promote their temporal and spiritual interests he solicited for their removal and, in 1656, the town of Dorchester granted 6,000 acres of land to them, which was laid out at Punkapoag whither they removed, and there the lapse of years saw their extinction. Mr. Eliot preached to them fortnightly from 1646 until their removal, and thereafter almost until his death in 1690. (See Canton.)

26. EASTHAMPTON, Long Island, New York. *Mission.*

Here the Reverend Thomas James, Jr., was settled as minister of the English Congregational Church from 1650 until his death on 16 June 1696. During most of this time he also preached to the Indians of this part of Long Island, especially between 1662 and 1675. For some years he received a stipend from the New England Company of 1649.

27. EDGARTOWN. *Indian Church at Chappaquiddick, 1659.*

The earliest Indian church in Massachusetts was gathered in 1659 on the large island of Chappaquiddick, a part of Edgartown, off the eastern end of Martha's Vineyard. John Hiacoomes was the first Indian known to have been converted to Christianity in this Commonwealth. His conversion took place in 1643 under the Reverend Thomas Mayhew, Jr. Hiacoomes began preaching to the Indians in 1646 on Martha's Vineyard, where he was a very valuable assistant to the Mayhews of the first three generations.

In 1670 Messrs. Eliot, Mayhew and Cotton ordained Hiacoomes and John Tackanash as ministers, Momatchegin as ruling elder and Nohnoso as deacon of this church and of the other praying towns on the Vineyard. Hiacoomes also preached to the Indians of Nantucket and gathered the first church on that island. But his main task was here on Chappaquiddick where he preached to his own people from 1659 to 1690. Joshua Momatchegin assisted Hiacoomes in preaching until 1690 when he became minister of the church, serving until his death in 1703. In turn, he was succeeded by the deacon of the church, Jonathan Amos, who preached here and at Gay Head until his death in 1706. Amos was the last native preacher of this church, after which the missionaries having oversight of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard preached here at stated intervals until the church became extinct. There were 60 Indian families (about 360 individuals) at Chappaquiddick in 1674; 138 were members of the congregation in 1698; in 1764 there were 86; and in 1792, 75 Indians remained here.

Native preachers:

1659-1690 Hiacoomes	1703-1706 Jonathan Amos
1670-1703 Joshua Momatchegin	

Missionaries:

1642-1657 Thomas Mayhew, Jr.	1673-1689 John Mayhew
1647-1681 Thomas Mayhew, Sr.	1694-1758 Experience Mayhew
1656-1661 Peter Folger	1767-1806 Zachariah Mayhew
1664-1667 John Cotton, Jr.	1810-1836 Frederic Baylies
and doubtless 1713-1746 Samuel Wiswall	

28. EDGARTOWN. *Nashamoieess Praying Town.*

Nashamoieess (Nashawamass) means "He is beloved of the Spirit." Here John Tackanash preached from 1670 to 1684 and, following him, from time

to time all the missionaries of the island of Martha's Vineyard took their turns. This village is situated in the southern part of the town.

Native preacher:

1670-1684 John Tackanash

29. EDGARTOWN. *Nunnepoag Praying Town.*

In 1698 there were 84 Indians in this town. Joshua Tackquannash was the minister and Josiah Thomas the teacher.

Native preachers:

ca. 1698 Joshua Tackquannash

ca. 1698 Josiah Thomas

30. FALL RIVER. *Watuppa Ponds Praying Town, 1709.*

In 1709 a group of Pocasset Indians lived on a small reservation of 195 acres on the east side of North Watuppa Pond. Samuel Church (Mr. Sam, as he was called), a dignified Indian who had preached at Sakonnet as early as 1685, was their minister from 1706 to 1716 and probably until the settlement of Mr. Brett. The Reverend Silas Brett preached to these natives in a small meeting house from 1747 to 1775. By 1763 the natives had divided the lands of the reservation among themselves. In 1849 there were still 37 remaining, and 16 persons in 1857.

Fall River was set off from Freetown (Assonet) in 1803. The Indian name of the stream, which later furnished so much waterpower to the mills, was Quequechan, meaning "quick-running water." In the last half mile of its course from the Watuppa Ponds there is a drop of 140 feet into the Taunton River. The Watuppa Ponds now furnish the Fall River water supply, having been taken by the city for that purpose in 1907.

Native preacher:

1706-1716 Samuel Church

Missionaries:

1689-1727 Samuel Danforth

1747-1776 Silas Brett

31. FALMOUTH. *Succonesit Praying Town.*

Mr. Bourne's account of the Cape Indians, 1674, lists Pispogutt (Bourne), Waywayontat or Wewewantett (Wareham) and Sokones (Falmouth) together as having 36 praying Indians, 20 adults and 16 young men and maids, of whom 20 could read and seven could write. In 1685 there were 72 Indians in this congregation. Gideon Hawley mentions four wigwams (or about 24 persons) at Succannessett or Sussconsett (also Falmouth) in 1764.

Indian preachers:

1685-1709 Old John

1758-1762 Joseph Papenah

1708-1719 John of Falmouth

Missionaries:

1674-1681 Richard Bourne

1729-1742 Joseph Bourne

1681-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1757-1764 Gideon Hawley

1709-1723 Joseph Metcalf

32. FALMOUTH. *Waquoit Praying Town.*

The Waquoit (Wakoquet) praying town is listed by Mr. Bourne in 1674 with Satuit, Pawpoesit, Cotuit and Mashpee with the Mashpee group of 95 Indians, 70 adults and 25 youths and maids, of whom 24 could read, ten could write and two could read English. Waquoit was, therefore, doubtless situated on the bay of that name in Falmouth or near the Mashpee border, but at all events it was associated with the Mashpee church and enjoyed the benefit of its preaching. (See Mashpee church.)

33. GAY HEAD. *Indian Congregational Church, 1663.*

Founded in 1663 at the southwest corner of the island of Martha's Vineyard this Indian church, though under the supervision of the missionaries of the island, had its own native preachers for many years. There were 231 Indians in this congregation in 1674, of whom 64 were in full communion. During 1674 part of these 64 members were dismissed to form the new church at Nashnakemmuck at Chilmark (No. 17, q.v.). By 1713 the number of parishioners had increased to 260, which was evidently the high point in the population of the town in Colonial times.

Sachem Metaark, the founder and first minister, died 20 January 1683 and was succeeded by David Wuttnomanomin, deacon and preacher, who died in 1698. The third minister, Japheth Hannit, born in 1638, died 29 July 1712, was the son of Pamchannitt. He was followed by Jonathan Amos, deacon and preacher, who died in 1706, the son of Amos of Chappaquiddick. Then Abel Wauwompukque, brother of Metaark, preached until his death, 1 October 1722, and was succeeded in turn by Joash Pannos (Paunos or Panneu), ordained in 1716, died in August, 1720, son of Annampanu. Peter Ohquanhut, probably the last native preacher, was settled here in 1725.

Experience Mayhew, as general missionary on the Vineyard, preached in this church regularly at each meeting in town until his death. The Reverend Messrs. Josiah Torrey and Nathaniel Hancock, both of West Tisbury, also preached in turn, as did all the settled ministers of the other towns on the island.

The meeting house was built in 1690 but was not finished until 1713. It was still standing in 1786, though seldom favored with a congregation at that time. The last child to be baptized was Mary Cooper in 1784, shortly after which the meeting house was abandoned. Twenty-five natives still belonged to the parish as late as 1792, but soon after this the old church became extinct. (See Chilmark.) After 1792 the Baptist Church of Gay Head (1702) took its place.

Gay Head was part of Chilmark until 1870 when it was set off as a separate

town. At that time it had a population of 160. It continues to be populated exclusively by the descendants of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, though nowadays they are mostly of mixed blood. The inhabitants subsist mainly by fishing and agriculture.

We are told that during the first World War the Gay Head Indians furnished to the army and navy of the United States the largest number of men, in proportion to its population, of any town in the United States.

Native preachers:

1663-1683 Sachem Metaark	1712-1722 Abel Wauwompukque
1683-1698 David Wuttnomanomin	1713-1720 Joash Pannos
1683-1712 Japheth Hannit	ca. 1725 Peter Ohquanhut
Died 1706 Jonathan Amos	ca. 1770 Zachariah Osooit
1683-1714 Elisha Paaonut	ca. 1770 David Capy
1709-1718 Daniel Shoko	

Missionaries:

1663-1681 Thomas Mayhew, Sr.	1701-1723 Josiah Torrey
1664-1667 John Cotton, Jr.	1727-1752 Nathaniel Hancock
1673-1689 John Mayhew	1767-1786 Zachariah Mayhew
1694-1758 Experience Mayhew	

Meeting house: 1690, still standing in 1786.

34. GAY HEAD. *Indian Baptist Church at Gay Head, 1702.*

Unlike all the other Indian congregations on the island of Martha's Vineyard, which were Congregational, this society began as an independent Anabaptist church. It was never large, but in 1702 there were about 30 members, ten of whom were men, out of a total Indian population at that time of some 300 souls. After 1792 this church evidently absorbed the members of the earlier (1663) Indian Congregational Church of Gay Head. Fifteen members of this society became affiliated with the Baptist church at Holmes' Hole 8 April 1832. Since 1855 the Baptist Missionary Society has supported a series of missionary preachers here. It is extraordinary that this church, for fully a century the weakest of the Indian churches of Martha's Vineyard, should alone have survived them all and at the present day is the only church in the town of Gay Head.

Colonel Charles Edward Banks, the historian of the Vineyard, wrote of the founding of this church: "It may be doubted whether any Indian of that day had a clear conception of the white man's religion as an abstruse proposition, to say nothing of its various sectarian interpretations."

All of the preachers of this church before 1855 were Indians. Isaac Decamy came from a mainland family. Josias Hossuit, Jr., was preaching here in 1727 when the congregation was called "a small society of Baptists." Samuel Kakenew lived at Chappaquiddick and preached here as well as there. Silas Paul, the only Baptist preacher on the Vineyard during his ministry, was born in 1738, baptized in 1758, began preaching here in 1763, and died 22 August 1787.

Thomas Jeffers was born in Plymouth, 1742, and died at Gay Head 30 August 1818, aged 76 years. Joseph Amos came to Gay Head from Mashpee. In 1839 there were 47 communicants.

Native ministers:

1702-1702 Josias Hossuit	died 1763 Samuel Kakenehew
1702-1708 Stephen Tackamason	1763-1787 Silas Paul
1708-1720 Isaac Decamy	1792-1818 Thomas Jeffers
1720-1727 Josias Hossuit, Jr.	1832-1855 Joseph Amos
post 1727 Ephraim Abraham	

The present meeting house is on the main road between Menemsha and Squibnocket Ponds.

35. GAY HEAD. *Indian Praying Town at Gay Head.*

This praying town was distinct from the other two churches of Gay Head and had a meeting house of its own. How long it lasted is not known but, being Congregationalist, its surviving members must have joined the first church in this place eventually. It had the benefit, with all the other praying towns on the Vineyard, of the oversight and preaching of the missionaries of the island.

Indian preachers:

1683-1714 Elisha Paaonut	1698-1722 Abel Wauwompukque
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36. GOSNOLD. *Indian Praying Towns on the Elizabeth Islands.*

The Elizabeth Islands are thirteen in number, but some are very small. Together they make up the township of Gosnold. The more important islands may be remembered by the rhyme:

Cuttyhunk and Penakeese,
Nashawena, Pasquenese,
Great Naushon, Nonamesset,
Uncatena, and Wepecket.

The most important and largest, being seven and a half miles long, is Naushon. Major Winthrop's Island is so-called because it was owned by Major-General Wait Winthrop, one of the Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649.

In 1671 Mr. Mayhew stated that there were then 15 families of Indians on the Elizabeth Islands, seven of which were praying families. In 1698 nine families of praying Indians on Major Winthrop's Island belonged to the church on Martha's Vineyard of which Japheth was the minister (Gay Head, No. 33). Three families at Saconeset Point in Falmouth attended services here. The missionaries from Martha's Vineyard visited the Islands from time to time and preached here. Mr. John Weeks, an Englishman, was the resident missionary.

Native preachers:

ca. 1698 Asa	1709-1727 Daniel Shohkow
ca. 1700 Jannohquosso	ca. 1711 Sampson Natusoo

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Thomas Mayhew

1698-1717 Mr. John Weeks

37. GRAFTON. *Hassanamesit Indian Church, 1671.*

John Eliot began preaching at Hassanamesit as early as 1651, and through his efforts an Indian church was gathered here in 1671, being the second church of praying Indians in the Bay Colony. At that time there were 12 Indian families or 60 souls settled here, of whom 16 were church members in full communion and 30 others were baptized Indians. Indeed, several members of the Natick church had been living here as early as 1669. The name of the town, Hassanamesit, means "a place of small stones" and was situated on the Old Connecticut Path not far from the Nipmuc (or Blackstone) River. Its area was four square miles, about 8,000 acres, with rich land, plenty of meadow and well watered. "It produceth plenty of corn, grain and fruit, for there are several good orchards in the place." The natives also kept cattle and swine and were as prosperous as in any Indian town in the country.

During King Philip's War the Indians remained loyal and friendly to the English, though they suffered more at the hands of the English than from the enemy. Early in the war many went down to Natick with other praying Indians of the vicinity whence, unfortunately, all were sent to Deer Island, Boston Harbor, where about 500 friendly praying Indians were confined throughout the war. When finally, in desperation, the English decided to trust them, a number of them volunteered as scouts and a military company of Indians was formed which in short order, because of their intimate knowledge of the wilderness, brought about the destruction of the enemy Indians. They were allowed, eventually, to return to their praying towns, much reduced in numbers, for many had died of exposure, disease and hunger on Deer Island. The church in Grafton was re-established and the Indians remained here peacefully for several generations. In 1698 there were five families. By 1765 Hutchinson reported eight or ten families (40 or 50 persons) at Grafton, and in 1849 there were still a number of Grafton Indians living here.

Joseph Tuckappawill (Tappakkoowillim or Tuppuikkoowelim), "a pious and able man, and apt to teach," began preaching here as early as 1669 and served as a scout in King Philip's War. James Printer, his brother, also served the colonists faithfully as a scout during the war and was employed by the New England Company as preacher and teacher in this place from 1708 (and doubtless much earlier) to 1717, when a small pension was paid by the Company to his widow Mary for his long and useful service. He was called James "Printer" because he helped print and proofread the Eliot Bible.

Indian preachers:

1669-1677 Joseph Tuckappawill

1698-1717 James Printer

Missionaries:

1651-1680 John Eliot

1680-1715 Grindall Rawson

38. HARWICH. *Satucket Praying Town.*

The Indian praying town of Satucket (Sawkattucket, Saquetucket or Sahquattucket) was located chiefly in the northwest corner of the present township of Harwich, though some of the Indians may have lived in what is now Brewster (the original parish of Harwich) and in Dennis. In 1685 (with Dennis) there were 121 adult natives in this town, and in 1694 there were 14 praying families (about 84 persons). By 1712 there were 140; in 1762 64 Indians; but in 1792 there were only six or seven Indians left. Mr. Treat was the active missionary here.

Indian preachers:

1685-1714	Manasseh	ca. 1714	Menekish
1711-1714	Hercules	1762-1770	John Ralph

Missionaries:

1674-1681	Richard Bourne	1675-1717	Samuel Treat
1681-1697	John Cotton, Jr.	1708-1726	Daniel Greenleaf

39. KENT, Conn. *Scatacook Moravian Indian Mission, 1740.*

In 1740 the Reverend Christian Henry Rauch, a Moravian missionary, established an Indian mission at Shekomeko, New York, some 22 miles west of Scatacook. Through his preaching numerous converts were made at Scatacook, which by that time had become the headquarters for the remnants of the several tribes of the lower Housatonic valley in western Connecticut. By 1752 about 120 Indians had been baptized there, virtually all the inhabitants, including the sachem. A school and a church were built and the congregation flourished for a few years, but the mission was abandoned in 1763.

Missionary:

1742-1744 Christian Henry Rauch

40. LAKEVILLE. *Nemasket Indian Church, 1665.*

The first Indian minister of this church may also be considered the first Christian martyr of his race. He was John Sassamon (or Wussausmon), a Punkapoag Indian, born at Dorchester, served with the English in the Pequot War, 1637, became a convert and was educated in the Indian department of Harvard College, was employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, and is said to have aided John Eliot in translating the Indian Bible. After a time he left Natick to become King Philip's secretary. Subsequently he was chosen minister of this church at Nemasket (then in Middleborough, now Lakeville), where he was given a house lot in Assawompsett Neck. On 29 January 1675/6 he was found drowned under the ice in Assawompsett Pond with marks of violence upon his body. Three Indian henchmen of Philip were tried, convicted and executed for his murder, there being little doubt but that it occurred by Philip's command because of Sassamon's success in converting the Indians to Christianity.

There were 70 Indians here in 1685 but early in the next century this church united with the church at Titicut.

Indian ministers:

1673-1675 John Sassamon ca. 1685 Stephen

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr. 1707-1744 Peter Thacher

1689-1727 Samuel Danforth

The meeting house, built ca. 1665, was burned in King Philip's War.

41. LAKEVILLE. *Assawompsett Indian Church, 1665.*

Probably Sassamon was also the first minister of this church (see Nemasket above). In 1666 all these congregations (Nemasket, Titicut and Assawompsett) were in a flourishing condition though they may not have been organized as churches at that early date. The Assawompsett meeting house was near the old Pond Church. In 1698 there were 20 houses (or 80 persons) in this place which was then in Middleborough and is now in Lakeville. Assawompsett Pond is the largest pond in Massachusetts.

John Hiacoomes was the son of the native preacher of that name at Chappaquiddick in Edgartown. The Assawompsett church eventually was absorbed by the Titicut church.

Native ministers:

1673-1675 John Sassamon 1698-1718 John Hiacoomes

1698-1711 Jocelin

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr. 1707-1744 Peter Thacher

1689-1727 Samuel Danforth

42. LAKEVILLE. *Quittacus Praying Town.*

The praying town of Quittacus (or Aquittacus) on Great Quittacus Pond in Lakeville consisted of seven houses (about 42 persons) in 1698. The inhabitants were associated with Assawompsett church.

43. LANCASTER. *Nashaway Indian Town.*

The word Nashaway means "land between the rivers," a perfect description of the central part of the town of Lancaster. Yet while it contained several praying Indians, including the sachem, Sholan, Nashaway was only one of the "hopeful" towns. In 1648 Mr. Eliot wrote: Sholan, "the great sachym of Nashaway doth embrace the Gospel & pray unto God, I have been foure times there this Summer, and there be more people by far then amongst us, and sundry of them do gladly hear the word of God, but it is neer 40 miles off and I can but seldom goe to them; whereat they are troubled and desire I should oftener, and stay longer when I come."

John Prescott, the founder of the English settlement at Lancaster who had

discovered the new way (Bay Path) to Connecticut, guided Eliot the next year to Amoskeag, New Hampshire, 1649, by way of Wamesit (Lowell). The Apostle preached again in Lancaster in 1649 where "their good affection is manifested to me and to the good work I have in hand." (See John Eliot's letters in Edward Winslow's *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*, 1649, and in his own *A further Discovery of the present state of the Indians*.) Washacum, in the second precinct of Lancaster, now Sterling, was the summer residence of the Nashaways. Jethro, a member of the Natick church, was sent to Washacum as minister and teacher in 1674 but little was accomplished here for King Philip's War soon broke out. Lancaster was attacked 22 August 1675 and several settlers were killed, while on 10 February 1675/6 Lancaster was sacked and burned, Mrs. Rowlandson and many others were carried away captive or massacred and the town had to be abandoned for two or three years. Most of the Nashaway Indians did not return. (See *The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, Frederick L. Weis, Editor (Boston, 1930), 2-11, 83-86.

44. LITTLE COMPTON, Rhode Island. *Sakonnet Praying Town*.

As early as 1674 these Indians were under the charge of Mr. Cotton who preached regularly to them with the Coxit Indians of Westport at Acushnet in Dartmouth. In 1698 there were 40 praying Indians here, 20 of whom were men. A native preacher, Samuel Church (called Mr. Sam, alias Sochawahham) preached here in 1685 and may have served here until 1711, when he was stationed at Fall River. In 1685 we find "at Sekonett, Mr. Sam sometimes teacher, now George" where 90 Indians were under his care. At that time Little Compton was part of Dartmouth in Plymouth Colony. Later it was ceded to Rhode Island.

Indian preachers:

1685-1711 Samuel Church

1714-1718 John Simons

ca. 1685 George

1714-1718 Benjamin Nompash

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1704-1748 Richard Billings

1697-1700 Eliphalet Adams

45. LITTLETON. *Nashobah Praying Town*.

Nashobah, near Nagog Pond, was the sixth Indian praying town. The area of this village was four miles square. In the records of the General Court, 14 May 1654, is the following: "In ansr to the peticon of Mr. Jno. Elliott, on behalf of seuerall Indians, the Court graunts his request, viz.: liberty for the inhabitants of Nashop [Nashobah] and to the inhabitants of Ogkoontiquonkames [Marlborough] and also to the inhabitants of Hasnemesuchoth [Grafton] to erect seuerall Indian townes in the places propounded, wth convenjent acomodacon to each, provided they prjudice not any former graunts; nor shall they

dispose of it with out leave first had and obtajned from this Court." Here in Nashobah in 1674 there were ten families, or about 50 souls. The land was fertile, well stored with meadows and woods, and good ponds for fishing nearby. They also had apple orchards which furnished them with cider, the cause of much drunkenness among them. Their minister was John Thomas, a sober and pious man.

The town was deserted during King Philip's War. They went first to dwell with Mr. John Hoar at Concord but were soon sent down to Deer Island, Boston Harbor, where they suffered greatly. On 11 November 1676 they were back at Concord, still numbering 50, ten men and 40 women and children. Later most of them settled at Natick and very few of them ever returned to Nashobah.

Indian preacher:

1669-1714 John Thomas

Missionary:

1654-1676 John Eliot

46. LOWELL. *Wamesit Praying Town.*

Wamesit (Pawtuckett or Pentucket) was the fifth Indian praying town. It was situated at the junction of the Concord and Merrimac Rivers and at first consisted of two settlements about two miles apart which were later joined as one town. The Indians hereabouts were almost entirely destroyed by the pest of 1612/3 and were further reduced in the war with the Mohawks by death, wounds and captivity. In 1670 there were 15 families, or about 75 souls, but by 1674 this number had grown to 250 Indians, men, women and children. The settlement within the bounds of what is now Lowell was at that time partly in Chelmsford and partly in Tewksbury.

The plantation consisted of about 2,500 acres of land which was fertile and yielded an abundance of corn. Good fishing was also to be had here—salmon, shad, eels, sturgeon, bass, etc. During the fishing season many strange Indians resorted to this place, which was harmful to the progress of its religious development.

Mr. Eliot preached here in 1649 and frequently thereafter. About 1669 a praying town was established. The minister from 1670 to 1675 was called Samuel. He was the son of the ruler, Numphow, and could speak and write in English and in the Indian tongue, having been one of those who were "bred up at school at the charge of the Corporation for the Indians."

Messrs. Eliot and Gookin visited this place each May when Mr. Eliot preached not only to the praying Indians but also to those strange Indians who could be persuaded to hear him. By this means, on 5 May 1674, Wannalancet, eldest son of old Pasaconway, chief sachem of Pawtuckett, became a praying Indian and attended meetings each Sunday thereafter.

At the time of King Philip's War Symon Beckom, the native preacher, and George the teacher with many of the tribe escaped to Pennacook (Concord),

New Hampshire, and joined Wannalancet there where they remained for a season, but by 1684 they had returned to Wamesit and there was stated preaching here at that time.

Native preachers:

1669-1675 George

1675-1685 Symon Beckom

1670-1675 Samuel (H. C.)

Missionary:

1649-1675 John Eliot

47. MARLBOROUGH. *Okkokonimesit or Okommakamesit Praying Town.*

This village, originally granted in 1654 (see Littleton), contained in 1674 several church members affiliated with Natick church and about ten families, or 50 souls, and covered about 6,000 acres of land. Much of it was very good land, well husbanded, and yielded plenty of corn. There were also several good orchards here which they had planted. But the English at Marlborough so greatly outnumbered them that the Indians did not flourish here and were uncomfortable in their situation. Their minister was named Solomon.

During King Philip's War the Indians of Grafton, Hopkinton (Ashland), Oxford (Sutton) and Dudley (Webster) abandoned those towns and settled in Marlborough, but not for long. For they were removed to Deer Island, Boston Harbor, until after the war when most of the survivors eventually settled at Natick or in other Indian plantations.

Indian preachers:

1669-1675 Nausquonit (retired)

1669-1675 Sampson

1669-1675 Job (H. C.)

1675-1676 Solomon

Missionary:

1654-1675 John Eliot

48. MASHPEE. *Indian Congregational Church at Mashpee.*

Due to the efforts of the Reverend Richard Bourne the present township of Mashpee, 16 square miles in area, was bought and set aside forever as an Indian township. The deed was drawn "so that no part or parcel" of the lands "could be bought by or sold to any white person or persons without the consent of all the said Indians; not even with the consent of the General Court." This instrument, with the foregoing condition, was then ratified by the General Court of Plymouth Colony.

"The Reverend John Eliot went down to Mashpee, where Richard Bourne, a godly man, on the 17th of August, 1670, was ordained minister of an Indian church which was gathered upon that day, and the Indians and such of their children as were present were baptized." This was the mother church of all the praying Indians on the Cape, quite a number of whom, in the several praying towns in which they lived, held membership in the Mashpee church. As in all the other Indian Congregational churches the ministers and missionaries of

this church were supported in part or wholly by the "Company for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England and Parts Adjacent" and the Daniel Williams Trust Fund for the Perpetuation of Preaching to the Indians until the year 1786, and thereafter, in the case of Mashpee and other churches, but principally Mashpee, by the Williams Fund and until 1858 by the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, 1787."

The Reverend Daniel Williams, a London clergyman, died in 1711 and left by will the fund which bears his name. "I give the remainder of my estate, to be paid yearly to the College of Cambridge in New England, or to such as are usually employed to manage the blessed work of converting the poor Indians there, to promote which I design this part of my gift." In 1775 the New England Company and the Williams Fund were each supporting 16 missionaries. Mr. Hawley received from the Fund \$100 yearly, Mr. Phinehas Fish from \$390 to \$433. Today the income is about \$700, and two-thirds of this fund is still spent at Mashpee. During the ministry of Mr. Hawley, in 1757, the present meeting house was built by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. On 9 September 1923 President Abbott Lawrence Lowell, as President of Harvard College, the Trustee of the Williams Fund, took part in the rededication of the church building. At that time the following memorial was erected:

OLD INDIAN CHURCH

BUILT IN 1684

REMODELED IN 1717

REDEDICATED IN 1923

IN MEMORY OF THE FRIENDS WHO LABORED

AMONG THE INDIANS.

TO THE ONES WHO GAVE MORE

GROUNDLED HOPES OF ADORATION

OF THE THINGS OF GOD.

IN 1711 DANIEL WILLIAMS LEFT A TRUST FUND IN CHARGE OF
HARVARD COLLEGE FOR THE PERPETUATION OF PREACHING TO THE

INDIANS

INDIAN PREACHERS

SIMON POPMONET

SOLOMON BRIANT

WILLIAM APES

JOSEPH AMOS, THE BLIND PREACHER

THAT IT MAY STAND IN ALL FUTURE YEARS THE

INDESTRUCTIBLE RECORD OF A RUGGED RACE

NOW TO THEIR GENTLE MEMORY BE NAUGHT

BUT KIND REGARDS AND TO THEIR QUIET

ASHES — PEACE.

The Congregational Indian Church, founded in 1660, became extinct in 1858 and the present Indian Church is now affiliated with the Baptist denomination.

In 1674 there were 27 Indians in full communion with the church and 90 baptized Indians. By 1693 there were 214 adult Indians in this congregation. In 1698, 263 Indians dwelt here. In 1762 there were 75 families of the red men; but by 1792 there were 280 Indians, largely of mixed blood. By 1800 there were 380 souls in 80 Indian houses, and during that year Isaac Simon died, the last Indian of Mashpee of pure Indian blood. By 1812 there were 357 worshippers, but by 1930 the population was 361, all of some Indian descent but mostly mixed with Negro or Portuguese blood. In 1945 there were 343.

Native preachers:

ca. 1685 Josiah Shanks	1725-1759 Joseph Briant
1682-1725 Simon Popmonnit	1833-1855 William Apes
1720-1775 Solomon Briant	ca. 1840 Joseph Amos (Baptist)

Ministers and missionaries:

1662-1682 Richard Bourne	1729-1742 Joseph Bourne
1682-1719 Shearjashub Bourne	1754-1758 Joseph Green
1693-1721 Roland Cotton	1757-1807 Gideon Hawley
1719-1764 Ezra Bourne	1808-1811 Elisha Clap
	1812-1840 Phinehas Fish

Meeting houses: (1) 1660; (2) 1684; (3) 1714; (4) 1758, built by the New England Company, remodelled 1817, rededicated 1923.

49. MASHPEE. *Canaumet Praying Town.*

The small praying towns of Canaumet (or Codtanmut), Shumuit (or Ashumuit) in Mashpee, and Weesquobs nearby contained in 1674 22 praying Indians (12 adults and ten young people) of whom 13 could read, seven could write and two could read English. These villages were supplied from time to time by the ministers from Mashpee and were under the jurisdiction of the missionaries of that place. At other times they attended the Mashpee church.

Indian preachers:

ca. 1685 Josiah Shanks	1685-1725 Simon Popmonnit
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Missionaries:

1662-1685 Richard Bourne	1694-1721 Roland Cotton
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50. MASHPEE. *Cotuit Praying Town.*

The small praying towns of Cotuit (partly in Mashpee and partly in the southwest portion of Barnstable), Pawpoesit, Santuit (Satuit), together with Mashpee Church and Waquoit (Wakoquet) in Falmouth, contained 95 praying Indians (70 adults and 25 young men and maids), of whom 24 could read, ten could write, and two could read English. The Indian preachers and missionaries of Mashpee church officiated here and at the four following praying towns.

Later the people of these small towns went to the center of the town to Mashpee church.

51. MASHPEE. *Pawpoesit Praying Town.*

(Same as Cotuit, No. 50 above.)

52. MASHPEE. *Santuit (or Satuit) Praying Town.*

(Same as Cotuit, No. 50 above.)

53. MASHPEE. *Shumuit (or Ashumuit) Praying Town.*

(Same as Canaumet, No. 49 above.)

54. MASHPEE. *Weesquobs Praying Town.*

(Same as Canaumet, No. 49 above.)

55. MENDON. *Quinshepauge (or Nipmuc) Praying Town.*

The Quinshepauge praying town, on the edge of Nipmuc Pond, was organized by John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, before King Philip's War but was abandoned at that time when Philip's Indians burned the meeting house of the English settlers (built in 1668/9) in 1675. They returned soon after the war. Their native preachers are unknown, if indeed they had any, except as they may have attended worship at Grafton.

Missionaries:

1675-1680 John Eliot

1680-1715 Grindall Rawson

56. MIDDLEBOROUGH. *Titicut Indian Church, 1665.*

The Indian Church of Titicut (or Kektekicut) was organized in 1674 or thereabouts, though a meeting house had been built here as early as 1665. In the former year there were 35 Indian families (about 100 persons) in the congregation; in 1685 there were 70 adult Indians; but by 1694 there were only about 40 left. The church lasted until 1760 when the few remaining Indians began to worship with the whites at the Independent Church of Titicut.

Probably John Sassamon was the first minister of this church. He was followed by Stephen who officiated here in 1685. Charles Aham was the minister in 1698 and was followed by Nehemiah Abel who later removed to Slocum's Island where he was the teacher in 1712. Thomas Sekins succeeded Nehemiah Abel. Thomas Felix, who also served as the local magistrate, was minister in 1712. He was followed by John Simon who removed early, for he was settled at Sakonnet, Little Compton, 1714-1718. Joseph Joshnin served from 1710 to 1718 and probably much longer, while John Symons, the last native minister on record, preached here from 1747 to 1757. John Cotton, Jr., preached here regularly, as did Peter Thacher, from 1708 to 1713, and probably until his death in 1744.

Indian ministers:

1673-1675 John Sassamon	ca. 1712 Thomas Felix
ca. 1685 Stephen	1698-1714 John Simons
ca. 1698 Charles Aham	1710-1718 Joseph Joshnin
ante 1712 Nehemiah Abel	1747-1757 John Symons
ante 1712 Thomas Sekins	

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.	1707-1744 Peter Thacher
1689-1727 Samuel Danforth	

Meeting house: 1665; this one or its successor was later used by the Separatist Church of Middleborough.

MONTVILLE, Conn. *Mohegan Praying Town*, 1660, see Norwich.

57. MONTVILLE, Conn. *Mohegan Baptist Church*, 1770.

This church was probably in or near the Mohegan reservation of 2,700 acres in the town of Montville. The Reverend Samson Occum, a celebrated Indian preacher educated by Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, shepherded the first contingent of Mohegan Indians from this place to Oneida, New York, where ultimately most of the Mohegan tribe went including, perhaps, this congregation. In 1831 a meeting house was built in the Mohegan reservation for those who remained and the Reverend Anson Gleason began his labors here in 1832.

58. MOUNT DESERT ISLAND, Maine. *St. Sauveur Mission*, 1613.

In June, 1613, two French Jesuit priests, Father Peter Biard and Father Ennemond Masse, began the mission of St. Sauveur at Fernald's Point at the entrance of Somes Sound, Mount Desert Island. But the colonists were expelled shortly after as trespassers on English soil by Captain Samuel Argall of Virginia who destroyed the mission and took Father Biard with him to Virginia.

59. MYSTIC, Conn. *Indian Mission at Mystic*, 1659.

The Reverend William Tompson (Harvard College, 1653) lived here in 1659 while he was a missionary for the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England" and had a mission among the Pequots (Mohegans) in this place.

60. NANTUCKET. *Occawan Indian Church*, 1665.

At the time of the settlement of Nantucket by the English in 1661 there were about 3,000 Indians on this island. By the year 1674 there were 300 praying families. The church at that time consisted of 30 Indians in full communion, 20 of them males and ten females. Forty children had been baptized. The natives were then settled in three praying towns: Oggawame (Occawan), half way on the road to Siasconset, near Gibbs Swamp; Wammasquid; and Squatesit.

Peter Folger came to Nantucket in 1663. He could speak and write in the Indian language and must have preached often in the Occawan meeting house and at other places on the island. The English settlers in 1674, we are told, numbered 27 families, many of them being Anabaptists and the rest Quakers.

Mr. Cotton visited the island during that year. He spoke often to the Nantucket Indians who worked each summer around Boston as farm laborers and to help get in the harvests. Many were pious, Mr. Cotton declared, most of them "sober, diligent, and industrious," which he calls commendable qualifications. He desires and prays, however, that all praying Indians may more and more increase in virtue and piety—so obviously he felt that there was still room for improvement.

In 1694 there were 500 adults in five assemblies of praying Indians and three churches, of which two were Congregational and one Baptist. Four years later, when the Reverend Messrs. Danforth and Rawson visited the island, there were still 500 adult praying Indians, two churches with 20 communicants each, five congregations and one meeting house. The churches continued to flourish up to the year 1700. After that the Indian population declined slowly until, on 16 August 1763, there were 358 praying Indians of whom 220 died of a fever the next fall and winter, reducing their number to 138 on 16 February 1764. In 1784 there were 35 left, and in 1792 there remained four males and 16 females. The last Indian of the Nantucket tribe, Abraham Api Quady, died in 1854 at the age of 84 years.

At the height of their strength, however, there were four Indian meeting houses, the first being at Occawan, five miles east of the town of Nantucket, the second at Myercommet, south of the town, the third near Polpis, northeast of the town, and the fourth at Plainfield.

With the decline of the Indian population after 1700 the number of native preachers also declined until, by 1727, there were none left on the island. Previous to this time, however, the Reverend Samuel Wiswall, later of Edgartown, preached here from 1710 to 1712 and, in 1728, the Reverend Joseph Baxter baptized 35 Indians on Nantucket. In 1727 the Reverend Timothy White was employed by the "Company for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England and Parts Adjacent" to preach to the Nantucket Indians, which he continued to do each month from October, 1728, to 1751. Thereafter the missionaries on Martha's Vineyard made stated visits to the Indian churches of Nantucket until this first Indian church became extinct about the year 1800.

Indian ministers:

1665–1670 John Hiacoomes

1665–1698 John Gibbs, alias Assa-
sammogh

ca. 1698 Job Muckemuck

1710–1718 Jonahauwasuit

ca. 1718 Jonas Asosit or Hasaway

ca. 1770 Benjamin Tarshema

Missionaries:

1665-1681	Thomas Mayhew, Sr.	1694-1758	Experience Mayhew
1665-1667	John Cotton, Jr.	1710-1712	Samuel Wiswall
1665-1690	Peter Folger	1727-1751	Timothy White
1673-1689	John Mayhew	1767-1806	Zachariah Mayhew

61. NANTUCKET. *Second Indian Church, 1694.*

This church was founded between 1674 and 1694. John Asherman was the native preacher in 1698 and at that time there were 20 communicants. How long it continued to exist we do not know, but probably by 1727 it had merged with the first Indian church and thus enjoyed the preaching of Mr. White. Caleb, a native minister, preached at another church than the first church, which was perhaps this one.

Native ministers:

ca. 1674	Caleb	ca. 1698	John Asherman
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Missionaries:

1710-1712	Samuel Wiswall	1727-1752	Timothy White
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62. NANTUCKET. *Third or Indian Baptist Church, 1694.*

Save for the fact that such a church existed in 1694 we know nothing about this church. By 1698 it may have become extinct since Messrs. Danforth and Rawson do not mention it.

63. NANTUCKET. *Wammasquid Praying Town.*

This was one of the three praying towns in 1674. The names of the Indian preachers on Nantucket at that time were John Gibbs (at Occawan), Joseph, Samuel and Caleb at the other two towns (i.e., Wammasquid and Squatesit) but which teachers were assigned to each of these three towns is not known. In 1698 there were five praying towns, the ministers being Job Muckemuck (at Occawan); John Asherman; Quequenah, Netowah, a man greatly esteemed, and Peter Hayt, a well-carriaged and serious man; Wunnohson and Daniel Spotso; and Codpoganut and Noah, a zealous preacher. It is difficult to assign them to the several villages. (See also towns numbered 64 and 65 below.) The resident missionaries to these Indian churches and praying towns were:

1674-1690	Peter Folger	1727-1751	Timothy White
1710-1712	Samuel Wiswall		

64. NANTUCKET. *Squatesit Praying Town.*

This was the third praying town in 1674. (See No. 63 above.)

65. NANTUCKET. *Fifth Praying Town.*

This was the fifth praying town in 1698, name unknown. (See No. 63 above.)

66. NATICK. *Indian Church at Natick*, 1660. Congregational.

The Reverend John Eliot (Jesus College, Cambridge, 1622).

The Reverend John Eliot, Jr. (Harvard College, 1656).

This was the first Indian church to be founded in the Bay Colony. It was gathered by the Reverend John Eliot, the "Apostle" to the Indians, in 1660, though he had preached regularly to the Natick Indians every fortnight since 1646 when they were living at Nonantum in Newton. (Nonantum means "re-joicing"; Natick, "a place of hills.")

By 1650 the English settlers were increasing rapidly in numbers in the vicinity of Nonantum and Mr. Eliot believed that in some instances they were exerting a bad influence upon the Indians. He felt that the Indians would fare better in a more remote situation. Moreover, their territory in Newton was growing too small for them and he wished for much more room in order to gather together the natives from the surrounding countryside into a homogeneous community. He wished to make a fair experiment of civilizing them. If he could be successful in forming one well-governed, Christianized town, he hoped to form many more after the same model. The territory a dozen miles to the west was still a wilderness, seemed to answer the needs of the Indians, so it was chosen by them and the place was called Natick. Then the Indians removed from Nonantum to Natick where 6,000 acres of land was granted to them in 1651 by the General Court of Massachusetts. Three long streets were laid out, two on one side of the river and one on the other. To each house built was attached a piece of ground. Most of the houses were built after the Indian fashion, but a school house and a meeting house, 25 by 50 feet, were erected in the English style. A fort, enclosed by a stockade, was also built. Finally, the Indians constructed a bridge 80 feet long over the river to connect the different parts of the town.

The natives were then organized as a civil government with their own officers and, in 1660, as a church with native officers, teachers, deacons, members of the church, and baptized children. Ten years later the church consisted of 50 members. In 1674 there were 29 families, or 145 individuals, living here, and in 1698 there were 59 men, 51 women and 70 children. The church was dissolved soon after 1698 at which time there was a small church of seven men and three women. Services were continued, however, and a new church was organized 3 December 1729 to include the few English inhabitants of the town. This second church was dissolved in 1752. A second English and Indian church was formed in 1753 but again was dissolved in 1803, by which time the English were settled in a different part of the town of Natick. The relative rights and numbers of the English and Indians were responsible for the several organizations and dissolutions of the church.

Being a wandering people, members of the Natick church frequently lived in the several neighboring praying towns and many of the choicest members of the church were sent out to serve as ministers, elders, deacons and preachers

in these other towns. By 1671 a group of Natick Indians, living in Grafton, were dismissed to form a church there. (See Grafton.)

During King Philip's War the praying Indians remained friendly to the English, often serving as scouts and spies for the colonial troops. This aggravated the resentment of the pagan Indians against the Christian Indians and forced the latter to remove from their exposed frontier towns. Thus, those living at Pakachoog (Auburn), Hassanamesit (Grafton), Magunkog (Ashland), Okkokonimesit (Marlborough), Wamesit (Lowell), and other praying towns, sought safety at Natick until there were too many to be accommodated here. Then for a time Natick itself had to be abandoned, the Indians being sent to live on Deer Island, Boston Harbor.

After the war, on 10 November 1676, the Massachusetts praying Indians were split up into four companies as follows: (1) at Medfield, 25 with James Rumney Marsh in charge; (2) 50 at Natick (Andrew Dewing's); (3) 62 at Newton (near Charles River); and (4) 25 more at Newton (on Nonantum Hill). Thus is accounted for the 42 males and 120 women and children, a total of 162 Indians, who survived the war from this section of the country.

For 40 years Mr. Eliot preached to these people every other Sunday. At first he had the help of his son, John, who was settled as the minister at Newton nearby, but when the son died in 1668 the whole burden again fell on the "Apostle's" shoulders. By 1681 Daniel Gookin (son of Major-General Daniel Gookin, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs) had learned to speak the Algonquin language and began to preach here in Natick, as well as to carry on the duties of his own church at Sherborn, several miles away, where he was the settled minister. His successor at Natick, Daniel Baker, also preached at Sherborn. After his death in 1720 the Reverend Oliver Peabody became the missionary at Natick in 1721, was ordained there in 1729, and preached to the Indians until his death in 1752. At the time of his ordination there were 30 Indian families in Natick and only eight English households in other parts of the town. Of the Indians, 16 adults were members and 12 minors had been baptized.

The last minister to the mixed congregation was the Reverend Stephen Badger. In a letter dated February, 1797, he wrote that there were then only two living Indian members, but that there were about 20 other Indians who were members of the congregation. He declared that the causes of the decrease and degradation of the Indians are drunkenness, wandering, laziness, thriftlessness and intermarriage with negroes and whites of low intelligence and bad character. Originally, however, they were a proud, self-respecting people who considered themselves on a standing of equality with the English, held up their heads and retained their native dignity. Being a race of warriors and hunters, to them labor in a field was proper work only for squaws. But when there were no longer enemies to fight, when civilization closed round about them so that they could no longer live by hunting and fishing, they became shiftless and lazy. Ownership of land meant little or nothing to them and, indeed, wilderness

land was of small value in its undeveloped condition. So they sold their lands to the English who with great effort and labor turned those wild acres into productive farm lands. Hemmed in more and more by spreading farms, the Indians took to a wandering life, neglected or abandoned their small plots of land, or bartered them for rum and firearms. Thus they became a dependent race and lost their self-respect. Meanwhile, rum, tuberculosis and poverty completed their destruction. This is the sad story of the Indians of New England, a tragic end for a race which had once possessed many innate noble qualities.

All the meeting houses of this Indian church were at South Natick. The present Eliot church, built in 1828, stands on the spot where Eliot once preached, but the Indian church at Natick became extinct a century and a half ago. In 1849 there was only one Indian left at Natick, a girl 16 years of age.

Native preachers:

1669-1675 John Speen	1709-1719 John Neesnummin
1669-1675 Anthony	1714-1727 John Thomas
1690-1700 Daniel Tokkohwompait	

Missionaries:

1646-1686 John Eliot	1712-1720 Daniel Baker
1664-1668 John Eliot, Jr.	1721-1752 Oliver Peabody ⁹
1681-1714 Daniel Gookin, Jr.	1753-1799 Stephen Badger

Meeting houses: (1) 1651; (2) 1699; (3) 1721; (4) 1757; (5) 1828, the present Eliot Church (Unitarian) on the same spot.

67. NEW BEDFORD. *Acushnet Praying Town.*

The present township of Acushnet was taken from Fairhaven in 1860, which in turn was taken from New Bedford in 1812, New Bedford itself having originally been part of Dartmouth, 1787. Mr. Cotton preached here at stated intervals each year. Mr. Hunt learned the Algonquin tongue and began preaching to the natives in 1708. He was the settled minister at New Bedford, 1708-1730.

Native preachers:

1693-1713 John Briant	ca. 1713 William Briant
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Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.	1708-1730 Samuel Hunt
1689-1727 Samuel Danforth	

68. NEW LONDON, Conn. *Indian Mission at New London.*

Several missionaries preached to the Mohegan Indians at this place, the first being William Tompson (Harvard College, 1653) who preached in the Indian language, 1657-1663, for the New England Company of 1649. Later Experience Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard conducted two missions here in 1713 and 1714, and James Davenport admitted Indians to his church in 1744. The

⁹ Our *Publications*, xvi. 483-484.

Montville Church (q.v.) was situated on the border of this town and Norwich.

Missionaries:

1657-1663 William Tompson

1725-1758 Eliphalet Adams

1713-1714 Experience Mayhew

69. NEWTON. *Nonantum Praying Town*, 1646.

Here John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, began his first successful praying town in 1646 which, in 1651, removed as a body to Natick where in 1660 the first Indian church in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was gathered. (See Natick.)

Missionary:

1646-1651 John Eliot

70. NORRIDGEWOCK, Maine. *Abanaki Indian Mission*, 1646.

Father Gabriel Druillettes, formerly of Castine, founded a mission at Norridgewock among the Abanaki Indians in 1646. He remained here for a few months, during which he built a chapel, then removed to Castine again for a short time before going to Canada. He was followed by Father Joseph Aubry, and later still by Father Sebastian Rasle, whose long, self-sacrificing service among the Indians of this place lasted from 1691 to 1724.

In 1792 the Indians in the District of Maine were all Roman Catholics and were reduced to about 60 families on the Penobscot River and about 30 families at Passamaquoddy. At that time there was a mission church at each of these places.

In 1837 there remained at Old Town in Orono on the Penobscot River 95 families, in all 362 souls, all Roman Catholics. "To such a remnant is this tribe reduced—a tribe anciently and uniformly called the Tarrantine, who could bring into the field more than two thousand warriors, and who claimed the lands on both sides of the Penobscot river from its sources to its mouth."

In 1841 at Pleasant Point in Perry, Maine, the remains of Passamaquoddy tribe numbered 120 souls, all Roman Catholic.

71. NORWICH, Conn. *Mohegan Mission at Norwich*.

The first missionary to preach to the Mohegans with much success was the Reverend James Fitch of Norwich, 1669-1702. He was preaching to them with considerable regularity in their own language as early as 1670 and at that time had 30 grown persons and about ten young persons and children under his care. He gave the Indians about 300 acres of his own land and the town of Norwich gave more land to them. His successors were: Experience Mayhew, Eliphalet Adams, David Jewett and Jonathan Barber. About 1744 Mr. James Davenport admitted a few Indians to full communion in his church at Norwich.

The Reverend Samson Occum, who came from this vicinity, was the first Indian pupil educated by the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock at his Indian school in

Lebanon (now Columbia). Occum preached here to the natives for short periods and on Long Island, New York. In 1755 and 1756 he accompanied Dr. Wheelock to England and preached there in many places to secure money to carry on the Indian school. In 1786 a few Mohegans went with Mr. Occum to Oneida, New York. This was the beginning of a general exodus of the Indians of this part of southern New England to New York state. Mr. Occum preached to his people at Brotherton, near Oneida, where he died in July, 1792. The Brotherton Indians, about 250 in number in 1791, were largely Mohegans, but also some came from Farmington, Stonington and Nehantick in Connecticut, and others from Long Island and from Charlestown, Rhode Island. John Cooper preached to the Indians at Montville in 1790.

Teachers:

ca. 1733 Capt. John Mason	1752-1757 Robert Cleland
1737-1738 Jonathan Barber	ca. 1770 Willard Hubbard

Native preachers:

1674 Weebox	1784 Samson Occum
1674 Tukamon	1790 John Cooper

Missionaries:

1660-1702 James Fitch	1743-1744 James Davenport
1713-1714 Experience Mayhew	1739-1775 David Jewett
1725-1746 Eliphalet Adams	1768-1773 Jonathan Barber

72. OAK BLUFFS. *Sanchacantacket Indian Church, 1670.*

The first Indian church formed on the island of Martha's Vineyard was gathered at Sanchacantacket (Sanchekantacket or Sengekontaket) in 1670, on which occasion Hiacommes and John Tackanash were ordained as ministers of the native churches by Eliot, Cotton and Mayhew, and the church here was organized at the same time. It was situated near Sanchacantacket Pond, in what was then Edgartown, but is now in the township of Oak Bluffs. John Tackanash was thereupon settled here as the first minister where he remained until his death, 22 January 1683/4. He was followed by Japheth Hannit, who died on 29 July 1712. Tackanash and Hannit also preached in all the other praying towns on Martha's Vineyard. Thomas Sockakonnit was deacon and preacher. The ministers of Edgartown and the missionaries of Martha's Vineyard acted as overseers and preachers of this church.

Indian ministers:

1670-1684 John Tackanash	1683-1712 Japheth Hannit
1670-1678 John Nohnoso	1698-1703 Thomas Sockakonnit
Died 1688 Paul Mashquattuhkooit	1698-1723 Job Peosin (Russel)

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Thomas Mayhew, Sr.	1694-1758 Experience Mayhew
1664-1667 John Cotton, Jr.	1713-1746 Samuel Wiswall
1673-1689 John Mayhew	1767-1806 Zachariah Mayhew

73. ORLEANS. *Nauset Praying Town.*

The Reverend Samuel Treat preached to the Nauset Indians in their own language for 45 years until his death on 18 March 1716/7. These Indians in 1685 occupied the territory extending from Truro to Orleans and at that time numbered 246 persons (including the Potanumaquuts). Mr. Treat made himself so perfectly acquainted with their language that he was able to speak it and write it with great fluency. Once a month he preached in the several villages. At other times the four Indian preachers read to their congregations the sermons he had written for them. Mr. Treat visited the natives in their wigwams, but before his death, however, a fatal disease swept away a great number of them. He translated the Confession of Faith into the Nauset dialect and it was printed.

Mr. Bourne reported 44 praying Indians here in 1674, 24 adults and 20 young men and maids. Of the whole number, seven could read and but two could write. There were 27 houses of Indians (about 120 souls) here in 1698. By 1764 there were only four Indians in Eastham, and in 1802 only one remained.

Native preachers:

ca. 1685 Great Tom

ca. 1698 Daniel Munshee

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne

1758-1807 Gideon Hawley

1673-1717 Samuel Treat

and perhaps

1708-1726 Daniel Greenleaf

1739-1772 Joseph Crocker

1729-1742 Joseph Bourne

74. ORLEANS. *Potanumaquut Indian Church.*

This tribe was for many years the largest at the eastern end of the Cape. The southern part of Orleans was called Potanumaquut and the Potanumaquut Indians lived partly in this township and partly in Harwich, but towards the end mostly in Orleans. These natives were under the care of Mr. Treat who numbered them, along with the Nausets and Pamets, as 500 souls in 1700. At that time Thomas Coshaumag was their teacher and preacher. By 1764 there were 91 Indians at Potanumaquut, which was then the center of missionary effort and preaching at this end of the Cape and so continued for several years after this period. But by the year 1800 only three Indians remained at Potanumaquut and one in Truro.

We do not know when this praying town was organized into a church but Joseph Briant was ordained minister here in 1758.

Native preachers:

ca. 1698 Thomas Coshaumag

1758-1760 Joseph Briant

1720-1775 Solomon Briant

1762-1770 John Ralph and perhaps

1719-1760 Joshua Ralph

Elisha Ralph

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne

1673-1717 Samuel Treat

1708-1726 Daniel Greenleaf

1739-1772 Joseph Crocker

1729-1742 Joseph Bourne

1758-1807 Gideon Hawley

75. OXFORD. *Kekamoochuck Praying Town.*

During the years the French Huguenot Church flourished in Oxford two of its ministers learned the Indian tongue and preached to the natives at the nearby village of Kekamoochuck Indians. Daniel Bondet and Jacques Laborie were employed for this work by the New England Company of 1649. (*Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 26. 333-335.) Captain Gabriel Bernon, one of the commissioners of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England, etc., lived here but removed to Rhode Island soon after 1704.

Missionaries:

1686-1694 Daniel Bondet

1699-1704 Jacques Laborie

76. PEMBROKE. *Matakeeset Praying Town.*

The small village of Matakeeset was the seat of missionary activity on the part of John Cotton, Jr., and of his son, Josiah Cotton, for nearly a century. The latter compiled a dictionary of the Indian language. In 1685 there were 40 natives in this place, and in 1792 two or three families of Indians remained.

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1707-1744 Josiah Cotton

77. PLYMOUTH. *Manomet Ponds Praying Town.*

Manomet was the third parish or precinct of Plymouth and was also called Kitteaumut or Catawmet. There were 40 Indians here in 1674, and in 1698 ten families or 50 persons. The Cottons preached here from 1674 to 1744 and probably longer.

Indian preachers:

ca. 1698 William Nummuck

1713-1718 Joseph Wanno

1698-1709 Jacob Hedge

1757-1767 Isaac Jeffrey

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1707-1744 Josiah Cotton

78. PLYMOUTH. *Saltwater Pond Praying Town.*

This pond was located on the coast below Manomet Ponds and, in 1685, there were 90 Indians here with Will Skipeag as their preacher. The Cottons, father and son, labored here also.

Indian preacher:

ca. 1685 Will Skipeag

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1707-1744 Josiah Cotton

79. POMFRET, Conn. *Quantisset Praying Town.*

When John Eliot and Daniel Gookin visited this town in 1674 the Indians consisted of 20 families, or 100 souls. The town was located in the southeastern part of Old Woodstock, about four miles south of the Massachusetts Colony line. Daniel, their minister, was "a sober and pious young man from Natick."

Indian preachers:

1669 Monatunkquanet ca. 1674 Daniel

ca. 1671 Wohwohquoshadt

Missionary:

1670-1680 John Eliot

80. ROCHESTER. *Cooxisset Praying Town.*

The exact location of the Cooxisset praying town is unknown to the present writer, but from the position in which it is listed in 1685 we suppose it may have been in Rochester or one of the neighboring towns. Rochester (Sippican and Mattapoiset) covers a large territory between Wareham and New Bedford, part of old Rochester now being in the newer towns of Marion and Mattapoiset. Governor Hinckley reported 85 natives here in 1685 with Indian John as their minister.

Native preacher:

ca. 1685 Indian John

Missionaries:

1685-1697 John Cotton, Jr. 1748-1775 Thomas West

81. SANDWICH. *Skauton Praying Town.*

This large township originally contained the present townships of Mashpee and Bourne, two Indian churches (Mashpee and Herring Ponds) and numerous praying villages. The Reverend William Leveridge (or Leverich) was a pioneer missionary to the Indians in this town as early as 1651 and perhaps earlier.

Of the many Indian praying towns it appears that Skauton, in the northeastern part of the present town of Sandwich, was the only one left in the old township. In 1685 it contained 51 praying Indians. Eventually it was probably absorbed by the Mashpee church, although Hawley reported five wigwams (about 30 Indians) here in 1764, and nine wigwams in 1767.

Native preacher:

ca. 1685 Simon Wickett

Missionaries:

1685-1697 John Cotton, Jr. 1722-1746 Benjamin Fessenden

1691-1722 Rowland Cotton 1758-1807 Gideon Hawley

82. SHARON, Conn. *Wequodnoc Moravian Indian Mission*, 1741.

In 1741 the Reverend David Bruce began a mission here which was named Gnadensee on Indian Pond near the New York state boundary line. In a few years there were 20 or 30 converts. Bruce died in July, 1749. The last missionary was the Reverend Joseph Powell, after whose death here in 1774 the mission was discontinued.

83. STOCKBRIDGE. *Housatonic Indian Church*, 1734. Congregational.

Reverend John Sergeant (Yale College, 1729), ordained 31 August 1735.

The Reverend Messrs. Samuel Hopkins, Stephen Williams and Jonathan Edwards with Colonels John Stoddard and Israel Williams, realizing the need of the Housatonic Indians of western Massachusetts for a village of their own with a meeting house and school, a minister and a teacher, appealed to the legislature of Massachusetts for a grant of land for this purpose. The legislature approved, granted 23,000 acres of land, comprising the present towns of Stockbridge and West Stockbridge, and guaranteed the whole tract to these Indians forever, except 385 acres apiece for the support of a minister, a schoolmaster and four white families to act as examples for the Indians. The plan was to Anglicize the Indians as a presumed help in the process of Christianizing them. The Reverend John Sergeant was engaged as their minister and the Reverend Timothy Woodbridge as their schoolmaster. The work was begun with a school of 25 Indian children in 1734. By 1737 a school house had been built and a meeting house was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day, 1739.

In the meantime Mr. Sergeant had mastered the Housatonic dialect and could preach to the Indians without an interpreter. There were then 90 Indians at the mission, of whom 52 were baptized. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England and Parts Adjacent furnished the agricultural tools for the natives and the Reverend Isaac Hollis of London promised £300 annually to support 12 Indian boys in a boarding school. They were soon selected, lived with Mr. Sergeant and were taught by him. The loyalty of the Housatonic Indians was by this means completely established through the work of Mr. Sergeant.

The heads of the four white families were Ephraim Williams of Newton (father of Colonel Ephraim Williams, founder of Williams College), Josiah Jones of Weston, brother-in-law of Mr. Williams, Joseph Woodbridge, brother of the schoolmaster, and Samuel Brown. Unfortunately the perpetual guarantee of the ownership of the land was soon lost sight of and other white families began to settle in the town. By 1749 there were 53 Indian families composed of 218 persons. Of these 129 had been baptized and 42 were church members. But a year later there were 68 Indian families who owned only 4,170 acres of land while the remaining 16,500 acres were gradually sold to new white settlers.

Notwithstanding this unfortunate condition Mr. Sergeant worked unselfishly, preaching two sermons to the Indians and two sermons to the whites each

Sunday, besides teaching in the Indian boarding school and making many missionary journeys among the western Indians. The pace was too great for him and he died at Stockbridge 27 July 1749.

The board of Trustees of the Indian boarding school at that time consisted of Colonel John Stoddard, Colonel Israel Williams, Reverend Stephen Williams and Reverend Jonathan Edwards. During the interim Reverend Gideon Hawley and Reverend Cotton Mather Smith taught in the boarding school. Meanwhile, the Reverend Elisha Williams, former President of Yale College, with the help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, founded an Indian girls school in the village.

The dismissal of the Reverend Jonathan Edwards from the church in Northampton proved to be a blessing for Stockbridge for he was at once settled as successor to Mr. Sergeant and, like him, accepted the task of teaching the twelve Indian boys in his own home.

Due to the loyalty of the Stockbridge Indians the plantation was not disturbed by the French and Indian Wars, but when, in 1754, two renegade Indians from Connecticut killed several white inhabitants, most of the Indians and whites fled to Great Barrington and the Connecticut towns until only the Edwards family and 42 Indians remained. It was some time before the panic-stricken people returned, but Mr. Edwards remained with them until he was called to the Presidency of Princeton College in 1758 where he died a month after being installed.

The Indians of Stockbridge gradually increased until they numbered about 500. The Reverend Stephen West, D.D., succeeded Mr. Edwards, preaching to the Indians until 1775 when the Reverend John Sergeant, Jr., became their minister. Shortly before the Revolutionary War a township six miles square in New York state was given to the Stockbridge Indians by the Oneidas. This grant was accepted and, under the guidance of Mr. Sergeant, the entire tribe removed to New Stockbridge, New York, 1783-1785. During the period of the Stockbridge mission, however, 100 Indians had professed Christianity. In 1822 the New Stockbridge Indians again migrated to a new grant at Green Bay, Wisconsin. (For an excellent and full account of the Stockbridge experiment see Chard Powers Smith: *The Housatonic*, New York, 1946, pp. 111-43.)

Ministers of the Indian Church:

1734-1749	John Sergeant	1759-1775	Stephen West, D.D.
1751-1758	Jonathan Edwards	1775-1785	John Sergeant, Jr.

School teacher:

1734-1740 Timothy Woodbridge

Teachers of the Indian boys boarding school:

1740-1749	John Sergeant	1753-1754	Cotton Mather Smith
1751-1753	Gideon Hawley	1754-1758	Jonathan Edwards

Meeting house: 1739.

84. STONINGTON, Conn. *Wequetequoch Indian Mission.*

It is said that the Reverend James Noyes preached to the natives at this place. He was the son-in-law of Thomas Stanton, the official interpreter. Experience Mayhew preached here in 1713 and 1714 to 50 Indians.

Missionaries:

1732-1781 Joseph Fish

ca. 1770 Edward Nedson

1733-1781 Nathaniel Eells

85. SUTTON. *Manchaug Praying Town.*

This was a new praying town in 1674 when Eliot and Gookin visited this settlement. There were then 12 families of praying Indians, or 60 souls. Waabeskamin was assigned as their preacher, whom they gladly accepted.

Indian preacher:

ca. 1674 Waabeskamin

Missionary:

1674-1676 John Eliot

86. THOMPSON, Conn. *Manexit Praying Town.*

Manexit was situated on the Quinabaug River. The Indians there in 1674 numbered about 20 families, or about 100 souls. Mr. Eliot preached to them and, after the sermon was ended, he presented unto them John Moqua, a pious and sober person, for their minister, whom they thankfully accepted.

Native minister:

1674 John Moqua

Missionary:

1674 John Eliot

87. TRURO. *Meshawn Praying Town.*

The Meshawn (Meeshawn) or Pamet Indians lived in Provincetown but principally in Truro. They with the Punonakanit (or Ponanummakut) Indians were 72 in number in 1674, of whom 51 were adults and 21 young men and maids. Of these 25 could read and 16 could write in their own language. There were 20 houses of Indians here in 1698 (perhaps 80 Indians). Governor Hinckley said in 1685 that their minister, Potanummatack, a prudent, sober man, had recently died, much lamented. In 1792 only one Indian remained.

Native ministers:

1674-1685 Potanummatack

1685-1698 Daniel Munshe

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne

1673-1717 Samuel Treat

88. UXBRIDGE. *Waeuntug Praying Town.*

Waeuntug (Waeuntog or Wacantuck) was situated in the western part of

Mendon, now Uxbridge, near the Nipmuc (or Blackstone) River, and contained about 50 Indians. In 1674 the ministers were James Printer, brother of Joseph of Hassanamesit, and Sasomet, both of whom lived in Grafton.

Native preachers:

1669-1674 James Printer ca. 1674 Sasomet

Missionary:

1670-1680 John Eliot

89. WAREHAM. *Weweantic Praying Town.*

This small Indian village is grouped with some of the Falmouth and Bourne Indians, a total of 36 Indians. Perhaps a third of them belonged here. Charles of Mannamit was probably their preacher in 1674 and Richard Bourne their missionary. Cowesit is a neck of land in this town.

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne 1739-1787 Elisha Tupper
1681-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

90. WEBSTER. *Chaubunagungamaug Praying Town.*

This village contained nine families or 45 souls in 1674 and was called after the lake of the same name, being situated at the south end of it. The people were better instructed in the gospel than in any of the other new praying towns at that time. Their minister was Joseph who had been here for two years working among them though he lived at Grafton. He spoke English well and had a thorough knowledge of the scriptures. Mr. Eliot preached here in 1674, urging the people to stand fast in their faith. Joseph, son of Petavit, alias Robin, was a valuable scout for the English during King Philip's War, but was, nevertheless, sold as a slave by the English. There was stated preaching here in 1684. Charles Gleason of Dudley was missionary here 1770-1775 and doubtless followed Perley Howe in this work, the latter being a well-known Indian missionary.

Native preacher:

1672-1676 Joseph

Missionaries:

1672-1686 John Eliot 1744-1790 Charles Gleason
1735-1743 Perley Howe

91. WELLFLEET. *Punonakanit (or Ponanummakut) Praying Town.*

The village of Punonakanit (Billingsgate) contained 22 families of praying Indians in 1698, eleven Indians in 1760, but all had died before 1802.

Native preachers:

1670-1685 Potanummatack 1685-1698 Daniel Munshe

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne 1673-1717 Samuel Treat

92. WESTPORT. *Acoaxet Praying Town.*

The Acoaxet or Cokesit Indians of Westport were associated with the Sakonnet Indians of Little Compton. John Cotton, Jr., preached to them at stated intervals at Acushnet. Westport was formerly a part of Dartmouth, being set off as a town 2 July 1787. There were 120 adult Indians here in 1685 at which time Isaac was their preacher. About 160 Dartmouth Indians (Acushnets, Cokesits and Sakonnets) surrendered peacefully in King Philip's War, but in spite of promises were shipped to Deer Island, Boston Harbor, where many of them were sold as slaves in the West Indies or perished. A few returned.

Native ministers:

ca. 1685 Isaac

ca. 1698 Daniel Hinckley

Missionaries:

1669-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1707-1744 Josiah Cotton

1689-1727 Samuel Danforth

93. WEST TISBURY. *Christiantown Indian Church, 1660.*

The ancient settlement of praying Indians at West Tisbury (Ohkonkemme) was set apart in 1660 by Josias, the Sachem of Takemmy, and was later called Christiantown (Manitouwatootan) to commemorate the services of Governor Thomas Mayhew and his descendants who labored among the Indians as missionaries for more than two and a half centuries. The church was organized in 1680. Before the death of the Reverend John Mayhew, minister of the First Church in West Tisbury, there were about 100 members of this Indian church. In 1732 two silver flagons were presented to it by the Old South Church in Boston. Preaching was supported by the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England (1649) for more than a century, until 1786, when it ceased to function in New England. After that the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, which had been organized at Boston in 1787, continued to support this church until it became extinct.

Following John Mayhew's death the Reverend Messrs. Josiah Torrey and Nathaniel Hancock of West Tisbury supervised this congregation, frequently preaching here in the Algonquin tongue and administering the sacraments to the Indian members. By the year 1858, however, there had been no stated religious worship at Christiantown for some years and it soon became extinct, owing to an epidemic of smallpox which proved fatal to those Indians who had remained here. The present rude meeting house was erected in 1829 and now stands alone in the woods far removed from any habitation.

As far as known, Wunnanauhkomun was the first Indian minister. He died in 1676. John Amanhut, son of Sachem Wannamanhut, died here in March, 1672. Joel Sims, son of Pockqsimme, also preached here, but died young in 1680. James Sepinnu was brother of John Tackanash, the colleague of Hiacoomes. John Shohkow (alias Assaquamhut, son of Nashohkow), ruling elder and preacher, died in 1690. Micah Shohkow, his brother, a godly minister,

died the same year, and Stephen Shohkow, a younger brother, was drowned on 6 August 1713. Isaac Ompany, a ruling elder and preacher, the son of Noquitompany, died 6 March 1716/7. Hosea Manhut, the son of John Amanhut, the second minister, was ordained pastor of "the Indian Church at the West End of this Island, 1724/5."

The population of Christiantown was as follows: 1698, 82; 1762, 54; 1790, 40; 1828, 49; 1858, 53, the latter figure consisting of 23 males and 30 females.

Indian preachers:

1660-1676	Wunnanauhkomun	1690-1690	Micah Shohkow
1670-1672	John Amanhut	1690-1713	Stephen Shohkow
1676-1680	Joel Sims	1713-1717	Isaac Ompany
1680-1683	James Sepinnu	1718-1719	Jabez Athern
1683-1690	John Shohkow	1724-	Hosea Manhut

Missionaries:

1660-1681	Thomas Mayhew, Sr.	1701-1723	Josiah Torrey
1664-1667	John Cotton, Jr.	1727-1752	Nathaniel Hancock
1673-1689	John Mayhew	1767-1806	Zachariah Mayhew
1694-1698	Experience Mayhew	1810-1836	Frederic Baylies

Meeting houses: (1) 1680; (2) 1695; (3) 1770, burned; (4) 1829, the present church.

94. WEST TISBURY. *Takeme Praying Town.*

How long this town of praying Indians continued is not known.

Native preacher:

1670-1684 John Tackanash

Missionaries:

1673-1689	John Mayhew	1701-1723	Josiah Torrey
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95. WOODSTOCK, Conn. *Wabquissit Praying Town.*

This place in 1674 was about four miles within the southern boundary line of Massachusetts on the Quinabaug River and contained about 30 families or 150 souls. The soil there was very rich, bearing not less than 40 bushels of Indian corn to the acre. "The sagamore inclines to religion," said Mr. Gookin, "and keeps the meeting on sabbath days at his [long] house, which is spacious, about sixty feet in length, and twenty in width."

The minister in 1674 was Sampson, an active and ingenious person, brother of Joseph of Chaubunagungamaug, and a brave scout and guide for the English in King Philip's War. He was captured and killed by mistake by some Christian Indians at Mt. Wachusett, 1675. Mr. Eliot and Mr. Gookin spent 15 and 16 September 1674 at Wabquissit where Mr. Eliot preached, Sampson read the scriptures, and Mr. Gookin held court.

Native minister:

1674-1676 Sampson

Missionaries:

1674-1690 John Eliot

1690-1726 Josiah Dwight

96. YARMOUTH. *Matakees Praying Town.*

There were 70 adult Indians in this praying town in 1685. Matakees (Matta-kees) itself was in the northwest part of the town of Yarmouth near the small harbor now called Cummaquid. In 1713 the town of Yarmouth set off a tract of 160 acres of land between Long Pond and Bass River "for the Indian inhabitants to live upon." This was Indian Town, located in the southern part of Yarmouth. Here about 1715 a meeting house was built near Swan's Pond and there was an Indian burial place nearby. In 1767 there were six wigwams here. But most of these Indians died of smallpox in 1778. Late in that year the land was sold to pay the cost of attending them during the epidemic. A year later five Pawkunnawkut Indians were then living near the mouth of Bass River. In 1787 and 1797 but one wigwam remained. Solomon Briant preached to the Indians of this town from 1720 to 1775.

Native preachers:

ca. 1685 Jeremy Robin

1720-1775 Solomon Briant

Missionaries:

1670-1681 Richard Bourne

1729-1742 Joseph Bourne

1681-1697 John Cotton, Jr.

1754-1758 Joseph Green

1708-1726 Daniel Greenleaf

1757-1800 Gideon Hawley

97. COLUMBIA, Conn. *Moor's Indian Charity School, 1754.*

This famous school was the forerunner of Dartmouth College. The Reverend Eleazer Wheelock, D.D., was settled as minister at Columbia (third parish in Lebanon), 4 June 1735-15 April 1770, leaving Columbia to become the first President of Dartmouth College, 1770-1779. These schools were supported by funds raised in England by Dr. Wheelock and Samson Occum, by the New England Company of 1649, by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians, 1709, and through the benefactions of Mr. Joshua Moor of Mansfield, Connecticut. Later, in 1763, Sir Peter Warren's gift was used for this Indian school. Dr. Wheelock educated Occum at Columbia 1741-1744, began to teach other Indian boys 1754 and, by 1764, he had 30 scholars, half of whom were natives.

Missionary:

1754-1770 Eleazer Wheelock, D.D.

98. FARMINGTON, Conn. *Indian School and Mission.*

The Reverend Samuel Whitman, minister of this town from 1706 to 1751, labored here among the Indians from 1737, or earlier, to 1751. John Mettawen was the native schoolmaster here in 1737. The Reverend Timothy Pitkin, who succeeded Mr. Whitman, also preached to the natives and acted as their

supervisor, 1752-1785, and from 1770 to 1775, Edward Deake also taught and preached part time with him.

The natives were very numerous when the first settlers arrived in 1640, the hunting grounds and fishing places being particularly adapted and attractive to the Indians. In 1763 their number was about 100, many having previously removed to Stockbridge, the rest joining them there later.

Native teacher:

ca. 1737 John Mettawen

Missionaries:

1737-1752 Samuel Whitman 1770-1775 Edward Deake

1752-1785 Timothy Pitkin

99. LYME, Conn. *Niantic (Nehantic) Praying Town.*

The Nehantic tribe of Indians lived in this town near a village now called Niantic. The Reverend Eliphalet Adams, minister at New London, 1708-1753, worked among these Indians 1725-1746. He was followed by David Latham who was here from 1770 to 1775 and doubtless earlier. Many Nehantics went to New Stockbridge, New York, 1783-1785.

Missionaries:

1725-1746 Eliphalet Adams 1770-1775 David Latham

100. SOUTHAMPTON, Long Island, N. Y. *Montauk Praying Town.*

Here, at the eastern tip of Long Island, Samson Occum kept school for the Indians. He was ordained by the Suffolk Presbytery as a missionary and preached to the Indians of Long Island at this place.

Native minister:

1744-1770 Samson Occum

Missionary:

ca. 1770 David Fowler

101. TIVERTON, R. I. *Pocasset Indian Town.*

The Pocasset Indians were Christianized after King Philip's War, sometime between 1687 and 1727. Probably Samuel Church of Seconnet and Fall River preached here under the care of John Cotton, Jr., of Plymouth and Samuel Danforth of Taunton.

The Reverend Othniel Campbell is recorded as the Indian missionary at this place in 1770 and 1775 and doubtless preached here to the natives during most of the years he was settled here, 1746-1775.

Missionary:

1770-1775 Othniel Campbell

Of these 101 Indian churches, missions, schools and praying towns, 25 were churches, 73 were praying towns and four were missions in Maine. They rep-

resent four denominations: 91 being Congregational, four Baptist, four Roman Catholic (in Maine), and two Moravian. *All are extinct today except the Baptist church of Gay Head, founded in 1702.* The only other Indian church in Massachusetts at the present time is the Baptist church at Mashpee which was organized by Thomas Jeffers about 1830 and now takes the place of the original Mashpee Indian Congregational Church, founded by Richard Bourne in 1660, but which became extinct in 1858.

Seventy-seven of these religious organizations were in Massachusetts, 14 in Connecticut, four in Rhode Island, four in Maine, and two were located on Long Island in the state of New York. The Dohet Island mission is called Roman Catholic though it may have been Huguenot as well, for there were present both a Roman priest and a Huguenot clergyman. It should also be borne in mind that in many towns the few Indians dwelling in these places attended and were often admitted to the local Congregational churches.

In 1774 a census revealed 1,363 Indians living in Connecticut, of whom the great part (824) lived in New London County. In 1792 there were 80 Mohegans left. Today there are none.

The Narragansett Indians of Rhode Island were strongly opposed to the propagation of the Christian religion and their sachems would not suffer the gospel to be preached to their people. Roger Williams made laudable attempts to win them but to no avail. In 1730 there were 985 Indians in Rhode Island. In 1774, by which time Bristol, Tiverton and Little Compton had been added to Rhode Island, the number was 1,482, but in 1792 there were less than 500, and today there are none.

By 1792 it is supposed there were no Indians in New Hampshire, some having removed into Canada but the greater part having become extinct. They were never very numerous in Vermont and by 1792 that state was entirely devoid of them. (1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1. 209-211.)

In the District of Maine in 1792 there were 60 families (about 300 souls) in the Penobscot tribe and, in 1837, 362 at Old Town in Orono, all Roman Catholics. The Passamaquoddy tribe consisted of 30 families (150 souls) in 1792 and in 1841 there were 120 members of this tribe remaining in Perry, Maine, all Roman Catholics. Thus in 1792 there were 450 Indians in Maine, and in 1840 there were 482. By 1890 there were only 140 left. (See also Norridgewock.)

By the year 1849, in Massachusetts, there were at Chappaquiddick, Christiantown, Gay Head, Fall River, Mashpee (309 in 1840), Herring Pond, Grafton, Webster, Punkapoag, Natick and Yarmouth a total of 847 Indians. By this time they were generally of mixed blood. In 1945 the Indian population of Massachusetts consisted of 114 at Gay Head and 343 at Mashpee, a total of 457 souls.

Inasmuch as town boundaries have frequently changed, the following may assist in locating Indian praying towns:

Bourne, see Sandwich	gartown, Gay Head, Oak Bluffs,
Bridgewater, see Middleborough	West Tisbury
Chilmark, see Gay Head	Mendon, Uxbridge
Concord, Littleton	Middleborough, Lakeville
Dartmouth, Westport, New Bedford	Montville, New London, Norwich
Dorchester, Canton	New Bedford, Dartmouth
Dudley, Webster	New London, see Montville, Norwich
Eastham, Orleans	Norwich, see New London, Montville
Edgartown, Oak Bluffs	Oak Bluffs, see Edgartown
Elizabeth Isles, Gosnold	Oxford, see also Sutton
Freetown, Fall River	Sandwich, Bourne
Hopkinton, Ashland	Scituate, Pembroke
Lakeville, Middleborough	Stoughton, Canton
Lebanon, Columbia	Woodstock, Pomfret, Thompson
Martha's Vineyard, see Chilmark, Ed-	Worcester, Auburn

INDEX OF INDIAN PLACE NAMES

Acoaxet, see Westport	Katamet, Bourne
Acushnet, New Bedford	Kekamoochuck, Oxford
Aquittacus, Lakeville	Kektekicut, Middleborough
Ashumuit, Mashpee	Kitteaumet, Bourne
Assawompsett, Lakeville	Magunkog, Ashland
Canaumet, Mashpee	Makunkakoag, Ashland
Cataumet, Bourne	Manchaug, Sutton
Catawmut, Plymouth	Mannamit, Bourne
Chaubunagungamaug, Webster	Manexit, Thompson, Conn.
Chappaquiddick, Edgartown	Manomet, Plymouth
Chequaquet, Barnstable	Mashpee
Christiantown, West Tisbury	Mattakees, Yarmouth
Coaxet, Westport	Mattakesit, Pembroke
Comassakunkait, Bourne	Meshawn, Truro
Cooxissett, Rochester (?)	Mohegan, Montville, Norwich, New
Cotuhtikut, Middleborough	London
Cotuit, Mashpee	Monomoy, Chatham
Cowesit, Wareham	Montauk, Southampton, L. I.
Coxit, Westport	Muckuckhonnike, Chilmark
Elizabeth Islands, Gosnold	Musketaquid, Concord
Hassanamesit, Grafton	Myerscommet, Nantucket
Herring Ponds, Bourne	Namatakeeset, Pembroke
Housatonic, Stockbridge	Nashamoies, Edgartown

Nashaway, Lancaster
 Nashobah, Littleton
 Nashnakemmuck, Chilmark
 Natick
 Nauset, Eastham, Orleans
 Nehantic, Lyme, Conn.
 Nemasket, Lakeville
 Neponset, Dorchester
 Nipmuc or Nipmug, Mendon
 Nipmuc River, Blackstone River
 Nobscusset, Dennis
 Nonantum, Newton
 Nope, Martha's Vineyard
 Norridgewock (Maine)
 Nukkehkummes, Dartmouth
 Nunnepoag, Edgartown
 Occawan, Nantucket
 Ohkonkemme, West Tisbury
 Okkokonimesit, Marlborough
 Okommokamesit, Marlborough
 Packachoog, see Auburn
 Pakomit, Canton
 Pamet, Truro
 Panonakanit, Wellfleet
 Pawkunnakutt, Bristol, R. I.
 Pawkunnawkut, Yarmouth
 Pawpoesit, Mashpee
 Pawtuckett, Lowell
 Pecunet, Canton
 Pentucket, Lowell
 Pequot, New London, Norwich
 Pispogutt, Bourne
 Pocasset, Bourne
 Pocasset, Tiverton, R. I.
 Pokesit, Bourne
 Pompessisset, Bourne
 Ponanummakut, Wellfleet
 Potanumaquut, Orleans, Harwich
 Punkapoag, Canton
 Quaboag, Brookfield

Quantisset, Pomfret, Conn.
 Quinshepauge, Mendon
 Quittacus, Lakeville
 Sahquatucket, Harwich
 Sakonnet, Little Compton
 Saltwater Pond, Plymouth
 Sanchacantacket, Oak Bluffs
 Santuit, Satuit, Mashpee
 Satucket, Harwich
 Scatacook, Kent, Conn.
 Scusset, Bourne, Sandwich
 Seconchgut, Chilmark
 Sengekintacket, Oak Bluffs
 Shumuit, Mashpee
 Skauton, Sandwich
 Sokones, Falmouth
 Squatesit, Nantucket
 Succannesset, Falmouth
 Sussconsett, Falmouth
 Takeme, West Tisbury
 Takemmy, West Tisbury
 Talhanio, Chilmark
 Titicut, Middleborough
 Wabaage, Brookfield
 Wabquissit, Woodstock, Conn.
 Waeuntug, Wacantuck, Uxbridge
 Wakoquet, Falmouth
 Wamesit, Lowell
 Wammasquid, Nantucket
 Waquoit, Falmouth
 Washacum, Lancaster
 Watuppa Ponds, Fall River
 Waywayontat, Wareham
 Wecantuck, Uxbridge
 Weesquobs, Mashpee
 Weequakut, Barnstable
 Wequodnoc, Sharon, Conn.
 Wequetequoch, Stonington, Conn.
 Weweantic, Wareham
 Wewewantett, Wareham

THE INDIAN CHURCHES OF NEW ENGLAND

Massachusetts:

	No.	Date	Town	Indian Name	Parish
1.	5.	1676	BOURNE	Commassakumkait	1658
2.	8.	1767	BOURNE	Pocasset	1674
3.	17.	1674	CHILMARK	Nashnakemmuck	1651
4.	22.	1690	DARTMOUTH	Nukkehkummees	1670
5.	27.	1659	EDGARTOWN	Chappaquiddick	1646
6.	33.	1663	GAY HEAD		
7.	34.	1702	GAY HEAD	(Baptist)	1702
8.	37.	1671	GRAFTON	Hassanamesit	1651
9.	40.	1674	LAKEVILLE	Nemasket	1665
10.	41.	1674	LAKEVILLE	Assawompsett	1665
11.	48.	1670	MASHPEE		1660
12.	56.	1674	MIDDLEBOROUGH	Titicut	1665
13.	60.	1665	NANTUCKET	Occawan	1661
14.	61.	1694	NANTUCKET		1674
15.	62.	1694	NANTUCKET	(Baptist)	
16.	66.	1660	NATICK		1646
17.	72.	1670	OAK BLUFFS	Sanchacantacket	1646
18.	74.	1720	ORLEANS	Potanumaquut	1670
19.	83.	1734	STOCKBRIDGE	Housatonic	1734
20.	93.	1680	WEST TISBURY	Christiantown	1660

Rhode Island:

21.	14.	1702	CHARLESTOWN		
22.	15.	1750	CHARLESTOWN	(Baptist)	

Connecticut:

23.	39.	1740	KENT	Scatacook	(Moravian)
24.	57.	1770	MONTVILLE	Mohegan	(Baptist)
25.	82.	1741	SHARON	Wequodnoc	(Moravian)

All are now extinct except number 7 above, Gay Head Baptist Church.

II

The Missionary Preachers

The *numbers* in this and the following section refer to the Indian Churches in the preceding section.

[For biographical details see Weis, *Colonial Clergy of New England.*]

Adams, Eliphalet, 44, 68, 71, 99	Barber, Jonathan, 71
Badger, Stephen, 66	Baxter, Joseph, 60
Baker, Daniel, 66	Baylies, Frederic, 27, 93

- Billings, Richard, 44
 Bondet, Daniel, 75
 Bourne, Ezra, 48
 Bourne, Joseph, 6, 16, 31, 48, 73, 74, 96
 Bourne, Richard, 3, 6, 16, 23, 31, 38, 48, 49, 73, 74, 87, 89, 91, 96
 Bourne, Shearjashub, 48
 Brett, Silas, 30
 Bruce, David, 82
 Campbell, Othniel, 101
 Clap, Elisha, 48
 Cleland, Robert, 71
 Cotton, John, Jr., 3, 5, 6, 22, 23, 31, 33, 38, 40, 41, 44, 60, 67, 72, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 89, 92, 93, 96, 101
 Cotton, Josiah, 3, 5, 76, 77, 78, 92
 Cotton, Roland, 3, 5, 6, 48, 49, 81
 Crocker, Joseph, 74
 Danforth, Samuel, 23, 30, 40, 41, 67, 92, 101
 Davenport, James, 71
 Deake, Edward, 14, 98
 Dwight, Josiah, 95
 Edwards, Jonathan, 83
 Eells, Nathaniel, 84
 Eliot, John, 12, 25, 37, 43, 45, 46, 48, 55, 66, 69, 79, 85, 86, 88, 90, 95
 Eliot, John, Jr., 12, 66
 Fessenden, Benjamin, 6, 81
 Fish, Joseph, 84
 Fish, Phineas, 5, 48
 Fitch, James, 71
 Folger, Peter, 27, 60, 63
 Forbes, Eli, 11
 Fowler, David, 100
 Gleason, Charles, 90
 Glover, Habakkuk, 12
 Gookin, Daniel, Jr., 66
 Green, Joseph, 48, 74, 96
 Greenleaf, Daniel, 3, 16, 38, 73, 74, 96
 Hancock, Nathaniel, 17, 33, 93
 Hawley, Gideon, 3, 5, 6, 11, 31, 48, 73, 74, 81, 83, 96
 Hoar, John, 21
 Howe, Perley, 90
 Hubbard, Willard, 1, 71
 Hunt, Samuel, 22, 67
 Ingraham, Duncan, 5
 James, Thomas, 26
 Jewett, David, 71
 Kirkland, Samuel, 83
 Labourie, James, 75
 Latham, David, 99
 Leveridge, William, 5
 Mason, Capt. John, 71
 Mayhew, Experience, 17, 27, 33, 60, 68, 71, 72, 84, 93
 Mayhew, John, 17, 27, 33, 36, 60, 94
 Mayhew, Thomas, 17, 27, 33, 36, 60, 72, 93
 Mayhew, Thomas, Jr., 27
 Mayhew, Zachariah, 17, 27, 33, 36, 72, 93
 Metcalf, Joseph, 31
 Morse, Joseph, 12
 Niles, Samuel, 14
 Noyes, James, 84
 Peabody, Oliver, 66
 Pierson, Abraham, 10
 Pitkin, Timothy, 98
 Powell, Joseph, 82
 Rauch, Christian Henry, 39
 Rawson, Grindall, 37, 55
 Ross, Thomas, 15
 Sergeant, John, 83
 Sergeant, John, Jr., 83
 Smith, Cotton Mather, 83
 Thacher, Peter, 12, 40, 41
 Tompson, William, 59, 68
 Torrey, Joseph, 14
 Torrey, Josiah, 17, 33, 93, 94
 Treat, Samuel, 16, 38, 73, 87, 91

Tupper, Eldad, 5
 Tupper, Elisha, 5, 6, 8, 89
 Tupper, Capt. Thomas, 5
 Tupper, Capt. Thomas, Jr., 5
 Weeks, John, 36
 West, Stephen, 83
 West, Thomas, 80
 Wheelock, Eleazer, 57, 71, 97
 White, Timothy, 60, 61, 63
 Whitman, Samuel, 98
 Wiswall, Samuel, 27, 60, 61, 63, 72
 Woodbridge, Timothy, 83
 Total: 90.

*Roman Catholic Missionaries in
 Maine:*

Aubrey, Nicholas, 24
 Aubry, Joseph, 70
 Biard, Peter, 13, 58
 Druillettes, Gabriel, 13, 70
 Leo, 13
 Masse, Ennemond, 58
 Rasle, Sebastian, 70
 Thevet, 13
 Total: 8.

*Occasional Preachers and Mission-
 aries:*

Charles Chauncey, D.D., Boston
 Benjamin Colman, D.D., Boston
 Samuel Cooper, D.D., Boston
 Andrew Eliot, D.D., Boston
 Thomas Foxcroft, Boston
 Cotton Mather, D.D., Boston
 Increase Mather, D.D., Boston
 Richard Mather, Dorchester
 Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Boston
 Charles Morton, Charlestown
 Ezekiel Rogers, Rowley
 Samuel Sewall, Boston
 Thomas Shepard, Cambridge
 John Smith, Sandwich
 Ralph Thacher, Chilmark
 Nehemiah Walter, Roxbury
 William Walton, Marblehead
 Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., Cam-
 bridge
 Roger Williams, Providence
 John Wilson, Boston
 Total: 20. Grand total: 118.

III

Native Preachers Among the Indians

Aaron Pomham, 12
 Abel Wauwompukque, 33, 35
 Amos Ahaton, 12
 Anthony, 66
 Asa, 36
 Benjamin Larnell, H.C.
 Benjamin Nompash, 44
 Benjamin Tarshema, 60
 Caleb, 61, 63
 Caleb Cheeshahteumuch, A.B.,
 H.C., 1665
 Charles Aham, 56
 Charles of Mannamit, 5, 6, 89

Codpuganut, 63
 Daniel, 79
 Daniel Hinckley, 92
 Daniel Munshee, 73, 87, 91
 Daniel Shoko, 19, 33, 36
 Daniel Spotso, 63
 Daniel Toppohwompait, 66
 David Capy, 33
 David Wuttnomanomin, 33
 Edward Nedson, 84 (Indian?)
 Elisha Paaonut, 33, 35
 Elisha Ralph, 74
 Ephraim Abraham, 34

George, 46
George, 44
Great Tom, 73
Hercules, 38
Hosea Manhut, 93
Indian John, 80
Isaac, 92
Isaac Decamy, 34
Isaac Jeffrey, 5, 6, 8, 77
Isaac Ompany, 93
Jabez Athern, 77, 93
Jacob Hedge, 5, 77
James Printer, 37, 88
James Sepinnu, 93
James Simons, 15
James Speen, 2
Janawannit, 17
Jannohquoso, 36
Japheth Hannit, 17, 22, 33
Japheth Hannit, Jr., 72
Jeremy Robin, 96
Jethro, 43
Joash Pannos, 33
Job, H.C., 47
Job Kattenanit, 1
Job Muckemuck, 60, 63
Job Peosin, 72
Job Russel, 72
Jocelin, 41
Joel Sims, 93
Old John, 31
John of Falmouth, 31
John Amanhut, 93
John Asherman, 60, 63
John Briant, 67
John Cooper, 71
John Cosens, 16
John Gibbs, 60
John Hiacoomes, 27, 60
John Hiacoomes, Jr., 41
John Mettawen, 98
John Moqua, 86
John Nessnummin, 66

John Nohnoso, 72
John Ralph, 38, 74
John Sassamon, 40, 41, 56
John Shohkow, 93
John Simon, 9, 44, 56
John Speen, 66
John Symons, 56
John Thomas, 45, 66
John Tackanash, 17, 20, 28, 72, 94
Jonahauwasuit, 66
Jonas Asosit (Hasaway), 60
Jonathan Amos, 27, 33
Joseph, 63
Joseph, 90
Joseph Amos, 34, 48
Joseph Briant, 8, 48, 74
Joseph Joshnin, 56
Joseph Papenah, 8, 31
Joseph Tuckappawill, 37
Joseph Wanno, 77
Joshua Momatchegin, 27
Joshua Tackquannash, 29
Joshua Ralph, 74
Josiah Shanks, 48, 49
Josiah Thomas, 29
Josias Hossuit, 34
Josias Hossuit, Jr., 34
Manasseh, 3, 23, 38
Menekish, 38
Meshawin, 6
Metaark, 33
Micah Shohkow, 93
Momonequem, 17
Monatunquanet, 79
Naumachegin, 27
Nausquonit, 47
Nehemiah Abel, 56
Netowah, 63
Nicholas, 16
Noah, 63
Panupuhquah, 18
Paul Mashquattuhkooit, 72
Peter, alias Sakantucket, 6

Peter Hayt, 63	Thomas Jeffers, 34, 48
Peter Ohquanhut, 33	Thomas Sekins, 56
Potantumatack, 87, 91	Thomas Simons, 22
Quequenah, 63	Thomas Sockakonnit, 72
Ralph Jones, 5	Tom (Great Tom), 73
Sampson, 47, 95	Tukamon, 71
Sampson Natuso, 36	Waabesktamin, 85
Samson Occum, 57, 71, 97, 100	Wattananmaktuk, 6
Samuel, 63	Weebox, 71
Samuel, H.C., 46	William Ahaton (Hahaton), 12
Samuel Church, 30, 44	William Apes, 48
Samuel Holms, 22	William Awinian, 12
Samuel Kakenehew, 34	William Briant, 67
Sasomet, 88	William Lay, 17
Silas Paul, 34	William Nummuck, 77
Simon Ephraim, 1	William Simons, 22
Simon Popmonnit, 48, 49	Will Skipeag, 78
Simon Wickett, 81	Wohwohquoshhad, 1, 79
Solomon, 47	Wunnanauhkomun, 93
Solomon Briant, 5, 6, 48, 74, 96	Wunnohson, 63
Stephen, 40, 56	Wuttanamattuck, 6
Stephen Shohkow, 19, 93	Zachariah Osooit, 33
Stephen Tackamason, 17, 34	
Symon Beckom, 46	Total whites 118
Thomas Coshaumag, 74	Total Indians 157
Thomas Felix, 56	Total 275

IV

*The New England Secretaries and Treasurers of the Corporation of
1649*

1. EDWARD RAWSON (born at Gillingham, England, 16 April 1615, died in Boston, 27 August 1693) was Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony 1650-1686, and clerk and factor of the New England Company at Boston 1650-1680. Nearly all the business of the Company in America passed through his hands. He settled at Newbury, 1637, but removed to Boston in 1650 where he was a member of the Old South Church. With Samuel Sewall he was co-author of *Justification of the Revolution in New England*.

2. WILLIAM STOUGHTON (born about 1631, probably in England, died unmarried at Dorchester 7 July 1701), Harvard College 1650, Fellow of New College, Oxford, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts 1692-1701, served as Secretary and Treasurer of the New England Company at Boston 1680-

1699. During his regime commissioners appointed by the Corporation in London took the place of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. He was Judge 1676-1692, Chief Justice 1692-1701; Captain 1677, Major 1680, Lieutenant-Colonel and Commander-in-Chief for six years. He gave Stoughton Hall to Harvard College in 1698.

3. SAMUEL SEWALL (born at Horton, near Basingstoke, England, 28 March 1652, died at Boston 1 January 1729/30), Harvard College 1671, Chief Justice of Massachusetts 1718-1728, and Secretary and Treasurer of the New England Company at Boston 1699-1724. The meeting house for the Indian church at Herring Ponds was built at his expense 1687-1691. He was a member of the Old South Church, was Captain of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company 1701; Assistant 1684-1686, Judge of the Superior Court 1684-1718, Chief Justice 1718-1728, Judge of Probate 1715-1728. His account book as Treasurer of the Company reveals that from 1711 to 1721 the Company contributed £1,300 to Harvard College. He was a voluminous correspondent, diarist and author.

4. ADAM WINTHROP (born at Bristol, England, 3 March 1676, died at Boston 2 October 1743), Harvard College 1694, was Secretary of the New England Company at Boston 1724-1733 and Treasurer 1724-1741. He was commissioned Justice of the Peace 1702, Judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas 1715-1740, Chief Justice 1740, and Councillor 1716-1730. He was member of the Second Church in Boston; was Ensign of the Artillery Company 1702, Major 1706, and Lieutenant-Colonel 1709. He speculated in land and copper mining, lost heavily and was obliged to resign all his offices.

5. ANTHONY STODDARD (born Boston, 24 September 1678, died there 11 March 1747/8), Harvard College 1697. He was a wealthy merchant and Judge and served as Secretary of the Company at Boston 1733-1748. "He was a Lover of the ancient religious Principles of New England,—or religious Liberty and Forbearance," and was a member of the Old South Church. He served as Justice of the Peace 1715, special Justice 1725, Judge 1733, and Councillor 1735-1742.

6. ANDREW OLIVER (born at Boston 28 March 1706, died there 3 March 1774), Harvard College 1724, Lieutenant-Governor and Judge, was Treasurer of the New England Company at Boston 1741-1774, Secretary 1748-1774, and guardian to the Indians of Suffolk County. His father and uncle, Governor Belcher, were also commissioners of the New England Company. Governor Thomas Hutchinson was his brother-in-law. Mr. Oliver was a member of the Old South Church, Justice of the Peace 1739, Councillor 1747-1757, Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts 1757-1771, and Lieutenant-Governor 1771-1774. His home was destroyed by the great fire in Boston in 1760. Five years later his home was sacked by a mob because of his appointment as agent of the Stamp Act in Massachusetts, though that appointment had been made without his knowledge and against his wishes.

V

The General Superintendents of Indian Affairs Appointed by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony

1656-1657 Major-General DANIEL GOOKIN

1658-1661 Major-General HUMPHREY ATHERTON

1661-1687 Major-General DANIEL GOOKIN

1687-1709 Captain THOMAS PRENTICE

Major-General DANIEL GOOKIN was born in Kent about 1612 and settled in Virginia, 1621, where he was a member of the House of Burgesses from Upper Norfolk January 1641/2. He came to New England in 1644, principally on account of his friendship for the Reverend William Tompson of Braintree, whose missionary efforts in Virginia, Cotton Mather affirms, attracted Gookin as one of the "constellation" of his converts.

"GOOKINS was one of *these*: by *Tompson's* pains
CHRIST and NEW-ENGLAND, a dear GOOKINS gains."

Mr. Gookin for about forty years was one of the most active and valuable citizens of Massachusetts. On 26 March 1644 he joined the First Church in Boston, whence he was dismissed to Cambridge Church, 1648. In 1645 he was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, was Captain of the Cambridge Military Company 1648, being "a very forward man to advance martial discipline, and withal the truths of Christ," was Major of the Middlesex Regiment 1676-1680, and Major-General of all the military forces of the Colony 1681-1687. He served Cambridge as selectman 1660-1672, and Deputy to the General Court 1648 and 1651, the latter year also serving as Speaker of the House. For thirty-five years he was Assistant or Magistrate for the Bay Colony, 1652-1687.

He took a deep interest in the conversion of the Indians and rendered valuable assistance to the Apostle Eliot in this way. He was the first to be appointed General Superintendent of Indian Affairs by the General Court. His duty was to visit the Indian villages, holding courts among them, appointing officers and making provision for the general welfare of the natives.

Two of his sons entered the ministry: Daniel, Harvard College, 1669, was minister at Sherborn and preached to the Indians at Natick; Nathaniel, Harvard College, 1675, was minister at Cambridge; Samuel, the youngest son, was Sheriff of Middlesex County 1689.

But the works for which Mr. Gookin is particularly famous are his two histories of the Indians: *Historical Collections of the Indians of Massachusetts*, 1674, printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1792; and his *History of the Christian Indians of Massachusetts*, 1675, 1676 and 1677, printed by the American Antiquarian Society, 1836. After a long and useful life he died at Cambridge, 19 March 1686/7, aged 75 years.

Major-General HUMPHREY ATHERTON was born at Preston, Lancashire, England, 1609, the son of Edmund Atherton of Winstanley in Wigan. He came to Dorchester in 1635. He proved to be one of the most valuable men in the Colony and his death by accident in 1661 was a great loss both to Dorchester and to New England. Captain Edward Johnson described him in 1651 as "a very lively courageous man . . . of a cheerfull spirit, and intire for the Country." By 23 August 1636 he had joined the First Church in Dorchester and, on 2 May 1638, was admitted freeman of the Colony. He became a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston 1638, was its Senior Sergeant 1642, Ensign 1645, Lieutenant 1646, and Captain 1650 and 1658. He was also Lieutenant of the Dorchester Military Company 1643, Captain of that company 1646, Major of the Suffolk Regiment 1652-1661, Major-General of the Massachusetts forces 1656-1661, and chief military officer in New England 1658-1661. In 1645 the Commissioners of the United Colonies appointed a Council of War and placed Captain Myles Standish of Plymouth at its head. Captains John Mason, John Leverett and Humphrey Atherton were his colleagues. Mr. Atherton was chosen Commissioner of the United Colonies in reserve 1656, 1659 and 1660.

He was as distinguished in his civil career as in his military service, being continually in the public service of Dorchester and the Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1638 to 1661. He was selectman twelve years, being chairman of the board seven years, town treasurer three years and overseer of the Dorchester school in 1645. He served as deputy to the General Court ten years and was Speaker of the House in 1653. From 1654 to 1661 he was Assistant (or magistrate) of the Bay Colony.

Mr. Atherton was much respected for his religious character and spirit. He had great experience and skill in his treatment of the Indians, manifesting much humanity and sympathy for their unhappy condition but exercising great energy and decision of character when dealing with them if necessary. His efforts to instruct them are mentioned in the minutes of the New England Confederation.

Reverend John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," directed the following letter to him in 1657:

"To his much honored and respected friend, Major Atherton, at his house in Dorchester, these present

"Much honored and beloved in the Lord: Though our poore Indians are much molested in most places in their meetings in way of civilities, yet the Lord hath put it into your hearts to suffer us to meet quietly at Ponkipog, for wh I thank God, and am Grateful to yourselfe and all the good people of Dorchester. And now that our meetings may be the more comfortable and favrable, my request is, that you would please to further these two motions: first, that you would please to make an order in youre towne, and record it in your Towne record, that you approve and allow the Indians at Ponkipog there to sit downe and make a

towne and to injoy such accomodations as may be competent to maintain God's ordinances among them another day. My second request is, that you would appoint fitting men, who may in a fitt season bound and lay out the same, and record that alsoe. And thus commending you to the Lord, I rest.

"Yours to serve in the service of Jesus Christ,

JOHN ELIOT."

On 7 December 1657 the town of Dorchester appointed Major Humphrey Atherton, Lieutenant Roger Clap, Ensign Hopestill Foster, and William Sumner a committee to lay out the Indian plantation at Ponkapoag, not to exceed 6,000 acres of land; and it was voted "that the Indians shall not alienate or sell their plantations unto any English" upon penalty of losing or forfeiting their lands.

By 1653 Mr. Atherton had been appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs and in 1658 the General Court appointed him commissioner to take care of the Indians, watch over their interests and appoint commissioners in the several Indian plantations in the Bay Colony. When Mr. Gookin went to England in 1656 Major Atherton was chosen to succeed him as the General Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony, which position he continued to hold until his death in 1661.

His tomb in Dorchester bears the following inscription:

"Here lies our Captain, & Majr. of Svffolk was withall;

A Godly Magestrate was he, & Major Generall.

Two Troops of Horses with him here came, such worth his loue did crave;

Ten Companies of foot also mourning march'd to his Graue.

Let all who Read be sure to keep ye Faith as he hath done.

With Christ he liues now Crown'd, his name was Humphrey Atherton.

He Died ye 16th of Sepr. 1661."

Captain THOMAS PRENTICE, born about 1621, of Cambridge and Newton, was chosen Lieutenant of the Troop of Horse, Middlesex County Regiment, 1656, and Captain 1662. He served with distinction during King Philip's War in the Mount Hope and Narragansett campaigns and in the Great Swamp Fight, and he commanded the troop which escorted Sir Edmund Andros as a prisoner from Rhode Island to Boston in August, 1689. He was Deputy to the General Court 1672-1674, Justice of the Peace 1686, and Superintendent of the Indians of Massachusetts 1687. "An active, energetic, and valuable public officer," he died at Cambridge 7 July 1709, aged 89 years. His grave bears the following epitaph:

"He that's here interr'd needs no versifying,

A virtuous life will keep the name from dying:

He'll live, though poets cease their scribbling rhyme,

When that this stone shall moulder'd be by time."

VI

*The New England Commissioners of the New England Company of
1649*

By virtue of their office as Commissioners of the United Colonies 1649-1685
—all dates inclusive.¹

Captain John Allyn, 1674-1675, 1677-1679, 1682.

Honorable Matthew Allyn, 1660, 1664.

Captain John Astwood, 1649, 1653-1654.

Governor Richard Bellingham, 1670.

Governor William Bradford, 1649, 1652-1653, 1656.

Major William Bradford, 1673, 1680-1684.

Governor Simon Bradstreet, 1649-1667, 1669-1672.

Honorable John Browne, 1649-1655.

Major Peter Bulkeley, 1682-1685.

Deputy-Governor James Cudworth, 1655, 1657, 1678.

Captain John Cullicke, 1652-1653, 1655.

Deputy-Governor Thomas Danforth, 1662-1665, 1667-1670, 1672-1673,
1675, 1677-1679.

Major-General Daniel Denison, 1654-1657, 1659-1664.

Governor Joseph Dudley, 1677-1679, 1682, 1683.

Governor Thomas Dudley, 1649.

Governor Theophilus Eaton, 1649-1651, 1653-1657.

Governor John Endicott, 1653, 1658.

Honorable Benjamin Fenn, 1661-1664.

Deputy-Governor Stephen Goodyear, 1650-1652.

Honorable Timothy Hatherley, 1651.

Major William Hathorne, 1650-1654, 1672-1673.

Governor John Haynes, 1650.

Governor Thomas Hinckley, 1667, 1673-1685.

Governor Edward Hopkins, 1649-1651.

Deputy-Governor William Jones, 1664.

Governor William Leete, 1655-1667, 1673, 1677-1678.

Governor John Leverett, 1667-1670.

Deputy-Governor Roger Ludlow, 1651-1653.

Deputy-Governor John Mason, 1654-1657, 1660-1661.

¹ *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628-1686*; *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, ix and x, being the "Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England"; *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1636-1776*; Arthur Adams, *Register of the Pedigrees and Services of Ancestors* [Conn. Soc. of Colonial Wars] (Hartford, 1941), 1131-1264; 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, v. 226-229; Frederic Baylies, *Memoir of Plymouth Colony*, II. 150-192.

Honorable William Pitkin, 1678.

Governor Thomas Prentice, 1650, 1653-1658, 1661-1663, 1670-1672.

Honorable Edward Rawson, 1658. *Secretary and Treasurer*, 1650-1680.

Honorable James Richards, 1672, 1675, 1679.

Ensign Constant Southworth, 1669.

Captain Thomas Southworth, 1659-1661, 1664-1668.

Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton, 1673-1677, 1680-1685. *Secretary and Treasurer*, 1680-1699.

Honorable John Talcott, 1656-1658.

Major John Talcott, 1662-1663, 1669-1671, 1673, 1676, 1683-1684.

Governor Robert Treat, 1681-1684.

Governor John Webster, 1654.

Governor Thomas Welles, 1649, 1654, 1659.

Governor Josiah Winslow, 1658-1660, 1662-1680.

Governor John Winthrop, Jr., 1658-1660, 1663, 1665, 1668-1669, 1672, 1675.

Major-General Wait Still Winthrop, 1675.

Honorable Samuel Wyllys, 1661-1662, 1664, 1666-1667, 1670-1671.

Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649, appointed 30 September 1685.²

Governor Simon Bradstreet, 1685-1697. (1649-1672)

Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton, 1685-1701. (1673-1685)

Governor Joseph Dudley, 1685-1693. (1677-1683) (1702-1720)

Major Peter Bulkeley, 1685-1688. (1682-1685)

Governor Thomas Hinckley, 1685-1699. (1667-1685)

Reverend Increase Mather, D.D., 1692-1699. (1699-1723)

Governor Sir William Phips, Knight, 1692-1694.

Major John Richards, 1692-1694.

Major-General Wait Winthrop, 1692-1699. (1675) (1699-1717)

Reverend Charles Morton, 1693-1698.

Captain Gabriel Bernon, 1695.

Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649, appointed 17 February 1698/9, confirmed 14 October 1699.³

Governor Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, 1699-1701.

Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton, 1699-1701. (1685-1699)

² George Parker Winship, "Samuel Sewall and the New England Company," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 66; Ford, *Some Correspondence*, 80-82.

³ Records of the New England Company, 17 Feb. 1698/9, in *History of the New England Company* (London, 1871), 246; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 69; 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, v. 502.

Major-General Wait Winthrop, 1699-1717.	(1675) (1692-1699)
Reverend Increase Mather, D.D., 1699-1723.	(1692-1699)
Reverend Cotton Mather, D.D., 1699-1728.	
Reverend Nehemiah Walter, 1699-1750.	
Honorable Samuel Sewall, 1699-1730. <i>Secretary and Treasurer</i> , 1699-1724.	
Colonel John Foster, 1699-1711.	
Honorable Peter Sergeant, 1699-1714.	
Thomas Banister, Esquire, 1699-1709.	
Governor Joseph Dudley, 1702-1720.	(1677-1699)

Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649, appointed 3 August 1704, and their successors.⁴

Major-General Wait Winthrop, 1704-1717.	(Reappointed)
Reverend Increase Mather, D.D., 1704-1723.	(Reappointed)
Reverend Cotton Mather, D.D., 1704-1728.	(Reappointed)
Captain Gabriel Bernon, 1704-1720.	(Reappointed)
Reverend Nehemiah Walter, 1704-1750.	(Reappointed)
Honorable Samuel Sewall, 1704-1730. <i>Secretary and Treasurer</i> , 1699-1724.	
(Reappointed)	
Honorable Peter Sergeant, 1704-1714.	(Reappointed)
Colonel John Foster, 1704-1711.	(Reappointed)
Thomas Banister, Esquire, 1704-1709.	(Reappointed)
Governor Joseph Dudley, 1704-1720.	(Reappointed)
Colonel John Higginson, 1704-1719.	
Honorable Edward Bromfield, 1704-1734.	
Honorable Eliakim Hutchinson, 1704-1718.	
Colonel Penn Townsend, 1704-1727.	
Honorable Jeremiah Dummer, 1704-1718.	
Honorable Simeon Stoddard, 1704-1719.	
Honorable Daniel Oliver, 1705-1732. ⁵	(Appointed 10 Mar. 1704/5)
Colonel Thomas Fitch, 1705-1736. ⁵	(Appointed 10 Mar. 1704/5)
Sir Charles Hobby, Knight, 1705-1714. ⁶	
Governor Samuel Shute, 1716-1723. ⁷	
Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer, 1716-1761. ⁸	

⁴ *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 63; Ford, *Some Correspondence*, 83-90, 92-93.

⁵ *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 64; 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 311.

⁶ *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXVII. 75; 6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 412.

⁷ Cotton Mather, *Diary*, in 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VIII. 375.

⁸ Cotton Mather, *India Christiana*, 1721, names the Commissioners in 1721 as ffs., Samuel Shute, William Dummer, Samuel Sewall, Penn Townsend, Edward Bromfield, Simeon Stoddard, Thomas Fitch, Thomas Hutchinson, Adam Winthrop, Jonathan Belcher, Daniel Oliver, Increase Mather, Cotton Mather and Nehemiah Walter.

Colonel Adam Winthrop, 1721-1743.⁹ *Secretary* 1724-1733; *Treasurer* 1724-1741.

Honorable Thomas Hutchinson, 1721-1739.⁹

Governor Jonathan Belcher, 1721-1757.⁹

Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649, appointed 13 March 1724.¹ Nine of the above commissioners and the following:

Reverend Benjamin Colman, D.D., 1724-1747.²

Reverend Edward Wigglesworth, D.D., 1724-1755. [d. 1765; res. 1755]

Governor Joseph Talcott, 1724-1741.

Honorable Samuel Penhallow, 1724-1726.

Honorable Edward Hutchinson, 1724-1752.³

Edmund Knight, Esquire, 1724.

Reverend Joseph Sewall, D.D., 1726-1769.⁴

Honorable Anthony Stoddard, 1733-1748.⁴ *Secretary* 1733-1748.

Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips, 1734-1757.⁴

Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, 1734-1774.⁴ *Treasurer* 1741-1774; *Secretary* 1748-1774.

Reverend Thomas Foxcroft, 1747-1769.⁵

Honorable Thomas Hubbard, 1748-1775.⁵

President Elisha Williams, 1750-1755.⁶

Reverend Andrew Eliot, D.D., 1750-1775.⁷

Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., 1752-1766.⁷

Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Cushing, LL.D., 1760-1786.⁸

Honorable Harrison Gray, 1760-1776.⁸

Honorable William Phillips, 1765-1785.⁹ *Treasurer* 1774-1777, 1784-1786.

⁹ See note 8 above; C. K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, IV. 213-214.

¹ Connecticut Historical Society, v. 404. Commission dated 13 March 1724 names Samuel Shute, Edward Bromfield, Thomas Fitch, Jonathan Belcher, Adam Winthrop, Thomas Hutchinson, Penn Townsend, Rev. Cotton Mather, D.D., Joseph Talcott (of Conn.), Samuel Penhallow (of N. H.), Edward Hutchinson, Edmund Knight, Rev. Benjamin Colman, D.D., and Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, D.D.

² C. K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, IV. 126.

³ Our *Publications*, XVI. 575-577; Lawrence Shaw Mayo, *The Winthrop Family*, Boston, 1948, 146-150.

⁴ Shipton, *op. cit.*, IV. 385; VII. 63, 388-389; 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII. 67.

⁵ Shipton, *op. cit.*, VII. 63, 388-389.

⁶ *Id.*, v. 596.

⁷ 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 415.

⁸ Petition from Commissioners of Indian Affairs (Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hubbard, Harrison Gray, Thomas Cushing) to investigate selling of the Indian lands at Stockbridge to the whites, in *Mass. Archives*, 33: 479.

⁹ Minutes of the New England Company at London names William Phillips, paid

*Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649, appointed 3 April 1770.*¹

Governor Matthew Griswold, 1770-1786.

Deacon John Barrett, 1770.

Reverend Charles Chauncy, D.D., 1770-1785.

Reverend Samuel Cooper, D.D., 1770-1783.

*Commissioners of the New England Company of 1649, appointed April, 1775.*²

Honorable Jonathan Mason, 1775-1786.

Isaac Smith, 1775-1786. *Treasurer* 1775-1784.

New England Officers, 1650-1774.

*Presidents of the Commissioners of
the United Colonies, 1649-1685:*

1649 Thomas Dudley
1650 Edward Hopkins
1651 Theophilus Eaton, 1654, 1655
1652 Simon Bradstreet, 1653, 1657,
1663
1653 John Endecott, 1658
1656 William Bradford
1659 John Winthrop, Jr., 1668,
1669
1660 Francis Newman
1661 Thomas Prence, 1672
1662 Daniel Denison, 1663, 1664
1664 Thomas Danforth, 1675, 1679
1667 William Leete, 1673, 1678
1670 Richard Bellingham
1677 Josiah Winslow

Secretaries:

1650-1680 Edward Rawson
1680-1699 William Stoughton
1699-1724 Samuel Sewall
1724-1733 Adam Winthrop
1733-1748 Anthony Stoddard
1748-1774 Andrew Oliver
1774-1786 (see *Treasurers*)

Treasurers:

1650-1680 Edward Rawson
1680-1699 William Stoughton
1699-1724 Samuel Sewall
1724-1741 Adam Winthrop
1741-1774 Andrew Oliver
1774-1777 William Phillips
1777-1784 Isaac Smith
1784-1786 William Phillips

as Treasurer, 1775-1777, 1784-1786. Probably news of the appointment of Mr. Isaac Smith did not reach him until 1777, due to the interruptions of the Revolutionary War.

¹ Commissioners named to fill vacancies in New England, 3 April 1770, at a meeting of the New England Company at London on that date.

² Commissioners named to fill vacancies in New England, (25?) April 1775, at a meeting of the New England Company at London on that date; Mr. Smith is named Treasurer for New England, and was paid for the duties of that office, 1777-1784, as per accounts of the Society in London.

English Officers of the New England Company of 1649

<i>President:</i>	1780-1787 Richard Jackson
1649-1661 Rt. Hon. William Steele	<i>Treasurers:</i>
<i>Governors:</i>	1649-1659 Richard Floyd
1662-1691 Hon. Robert Boyle	1659-1680 Henry Ashurst, Esq.
1691-1696 Maj. Robert Thompson	1681-1696 Sir William Ashurst
1696-1719 Sir William Ashurst	1696-1702 Henry Ashurst
1719-1726 Robert Ashurst	1702-1704 Joseph Thomson
1726-1728 William Thompson	1704-1729 John Gunston
1728-1728 Sir Nathaniel Gould ³	1729-1748 Joseph Williams
1728-1746 Sir Robert Clarke, Bart.	1748-1765 Jasper Mauduit
1746-1759 Sir Samuel Clarke, Bart.	1765-1773 Thomas Wright
1759-1761 James Lamb	1773-1791 Alexander Champion, Sr.
1761-1765 Benjamin Avery, LL.D.	<i>Clerk:</i>
1765-1772 Jasper Mauduit	1655-1666 John Hooper
1772-1780 William Bowden	

VII

Members of the New England Company Named in the Act of Parliament

1649-1661 William Steel, Esq.	<i>President</i> , 1649-1661 Chancellor of Ireland.
1649-1661 <i>Herbert Pelham, Esq.</i>	First Treasurer of Harvard College, 1639-1649.
1649-1657 James Sherley	Friend of the Pilgrims; died 1657.
1649-1660 Abraham Babington	An active member.
1649-1653 Robert Houghton	Inactive.
1649-1661 <i>Richard Hutchinson</i>	<i>Deputy-President. Reappointed 1662.</i>
1649-1653 George Dun	Inactive.
1649-1661 <i>Maj. Robert Thompson</i>	<i>President 1691-1696. Reappointed.</i>
1649-1661 William Molines	An active member.
1649-1654 John Hodgson	Inactive.
1649-1659 Edward Parks	Inactive.
1649-1659 Edward Clud, Esq.	Inactive.
1649-1659 <i>Richard Floyd</i>	<i>Treasurer 1649-1659; died 1659.</i>
1649-1659 Thomas Ayres	An active member.
1649-1658 John Stone	Inactive.
1649-1655 <i>Gov. Edward Winslow</i>	<i>Governor of Plymouth Colony; d. 1655.</i>

³ Elected 19 July 1728; died 21 July 1728.

Members Elected to Fill Vacancies by Death or Removal

1653-1661	Thomas Speed	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>
1653-1661	George Clerke	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>
1654-1657	<i>Gov. Edward Hopkins</i>	<i>Governor of Connecticut; died 1657.</i>	
1655-1660	Richard Young	Active member.	
1656-1661	Joshua Woolnough	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>
1656-1661	Thomas Bell	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>
1656-1658	Dr. Edmund Wilson	Active member.	Died 1658.
1656-1660	Capt. Mark Coe	Inactive.	
1656-1661	Erasmus Smyth, Esq.	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>
1657-1660	Col. William Puckle	Active member.	
1657-1661	John Rolfe	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>
1658-1661	Henry Ashurst, Esq.	<i>Treasurer 1659-1680. Reappointed.</i>	
1660-1661	Francis Warner, Esq.	Active member.	<i>Reappointed 1662.</i>

The names in italics had lived in New England. See 4 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, II. 281.

VIII

The Eliot Indian Tracts. Printed by the New England Company of 1649

[See Justin Winsor: "The New England Indians," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xxx. 336-339, and George Parker Winship, *The Eliot Indian Tracts* (Cambridge, 1925).]

- I. 1643. *New England's First Fruits.*⁴
- II. 1647. [John Wilson], *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England.*⁵
- III. 1648. Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New-England.*⁶
- IV. 1649. Edward Winslow, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, Amongst the Indians of New England manifested by three letters.*⁷
- V. 1651. Henry Whitfield, *The Light Appearing More and More Towards the Perfect Day.*⁸
- VI. 1652. Henry Whitfield, *Strength out of Weakness.*⁹

⁴ Reprinted in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, I. 242-250; Sabin.

⁵ Reprinted in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 1-23; Sabin.

⁶ Reprinted in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 25-67; Sabin.

⁷ Reprinted in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IV. 69-98.

⁸ *Id.*, IV. 99-147.

⁹ *Id.*, IV. 149-196.

- VII. 1653. John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, *Tears of Repentence*.¹
- VIII. 1655. John Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*.²
- IX. 1659. John Eliot, *A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England and of the means used effectually to advance the same. Set forth in certain Letters from thence declaring a purpose of Printing the Scriptures in the Indian Tongue, into which they are already Translated*.³
- X. 1660. John Eliot, *A further Account of the progresse of the Gospel . . . being A Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians. Sent over to the Corporation, 5 July 1659*.⁴
- XI. 1671. John Eliot, *A Brief Narrative of the progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England*.⁵

IX

Some of the More Important Letters of John Eliot which are in Print

	Written to:	Sources:
1. 1646 Nov. 13.	Edward Winslow	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 87-88.
2. 1647 Sep. 24.	Thomas Shepard	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 49-59.
3. 1647/8 Feb. 2.	Edward Winslow	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 89-92.
4. 1649 July 8.	Henry Whitfield	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 119-122.
5. 1649 Nov. 13.	Edward Winslow	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 79-86.
6. 1649 Dec. 29.	Henry Whitfield	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 122-133.
7. 1650 Apr. 18.	Henry Whitfield	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 133-135.
8. 1650 Oct. 21.	Henry Whitfield	3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 135-145.

¹ *Id.*, iv. 197-260.

² *Id.*, iv. 261-287.

³ Contains letters from the New England Commissioners, 22 September 1658; from Eliot, 10 December 1658 and 28 December 1658; and from John Endecott, 28 December 1658; Day of Fasting at Natick, 15 November 1658; and Pierson's *Some Helps for the Indians*, &c.

⁴ Mr. Winship notes still another tract by John Eliot, *A brief Tract of the present state of the Indian work*, published in 1669. It is not known that any copy of this tract exists, though reference is made in the Company's records to its being printed.

⁵ Some of these Eliot Tracts were used in compiling an appendix on the "Gospel's Good Successe in New England," attached to *Of the Conversion of 5900 East Indians* (London, 1650) [cf. Winsor, 339; a copy to be found in the Lenox Library]. As noted above, seven of these tracts are to be found in 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iv, and another in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, i; five of the tracts may be found in *Sabin's Reprints*, 1865, while still another was privately reprinted at Boston in 1868. Mr. Winship suggests that the two historical works of Gookin logically should belong to this series of tracts.

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|---------------------|-------------------|---|
| 9. 1650 ca. | Hugh Peter | <i>Conversion of 5900 East Indians.</i> |
| 10. 1651 Apr. 28. | Henry Whitfield | 3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 165-168. |
| 11. 1651 Oct. | Henry Whitfield | 3 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iv. 169-175. |
| 12. 1651 Oct. 20. | Edward Winslow | <i>N. E. Hist.-Gen. Reg.</i> , xxxvi. 291-294. |
| 13. 1652 Dec. 6. | William Steele | <i>N. E. Hist.-Gen. Reg.</i> , xxxvi. 294-297. |
| 14. 1653 Mar. 18. | Thomas Thorowgood | <i>Jewes in America</i> , 1660. |
| 15. 1654 Aug. 27. | Thomas Thorowgood | <i>Jewes in America</i> , 1660. |
| 16. 1654 Aug. 29. | Jonathan Hanmer | T. N. Vail & Wilberforce Eames, 1915. |
| 17. 1655 ca. | Jonathan Hanmer | <i>Bulletin, J. Rylands Library</i> , 1919. |
| 18. 1655 ca. | Jonathan Hanmer | <i>Bulletin, J. Rylands Library</i> , 1919. |
| 19. 1655 ca. | Jonathan Hanmer | <i>Bulletin, J. Rylands Library</i> , 1919. |
| 20. 1655 Aug. 16. | Thomas Thorowgood | <i>Jewes in America</i> , 1660. |
| 21. 1656 Oct. 16. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 19-20. ⁶ |
| 22. 1657 June 4. | Humphrey Atherton | 1 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , ii. 9. |
| 23. 1657 Oct. 7. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 22-25. |
| 24. 1657 Oct. 8. | Richard Floyd | Ford, 1-2; <i>Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , xvii. 246. |
| 25. 1658 Dec. 10. | Richard Floyd | Eliot Indian Tract VIII. |
| 26. 1658 Dec. 28. | Corporation | Eliot Indian Tract VIII. |
| 27. 1659 July 5. | Richard Floyd | Eliot Indian Tract IX. |
| 28. 1661 Mar. 28. | John Endecott | <i>Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iii. 312-313. |
| 29. 1663 July 6. | Richard Baxter | <i>Reliquiae Baxterianae</i> , 293-297. |
| 30. 1664 Aug. 26. | Robert Boyle | Birch, <i>Life of Boyle</i> (1744), 548. |
| 31. 1665 Aug. 25. | Commissioners | <i>Col. Records of Conn.</i> , iii. 484. |
| 32. 1667 Dec. 10. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 28-31. |
| 33. 1667/8 Jan. 22. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 31-32. |
| 34. 1668 June 15. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 35-38. |
| 35. 1668 Oct. 28. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 38-41. |
| 36. 1669 June 20. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 49-55. |
| 37. 1669 Sept. 6. | Robert Boyle | Ford, <i>Some Correspondence</i> , 27-30. |
| 38. 1670 Sep. 20. | Robert Boyle | 1 <i>Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> , iii. 177-178;
Birch, <i>Life of Boyle</i> , 430-432; Eliot
Indian Tract XI. |
| 39. 1670 Nov. 30. | Henry Ashurst | Ford, 37-39; <i>Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> ,
xvii. 246-247. |
| 40. 1671 June 27. | Richard Baxter | Powicke, 62-63. |
| 41. 1671 Sep. 4. | Commissioners | Ford, 43-47; <i>Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> ,
xvii. 247-249. |
| 42. 1671 Oct. 1. | Henry Ashurst | Ford, 49-51; <i>Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.</i> ,
xvii. 249-250. |

⁶ F. J. Powicke, *Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Reverend Richard Baxter and the Reverend John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, 1656-1682* (Manchester, England, 1931), 66, from *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, July, 1931.

43. 1671 Dec. 1. Robert Boyle Ford, 51-52; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xvii. 251.
44. 1675 July 24. John Winthrop, Jr. 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, i. 424-426.
45. 1675 Dec. 17. Robert Boyle Ford, 52-55; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xvii. 251-252.
46. 1677 Oct. 23. Robert Boyle Birch, 432-435; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 178-179.
47. 1680 Nov. 4. Robert Boyle Birch, 435-437; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 179-180.
48. 1681 June 17. Robert Boyle Ford, 65-67; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xvii. 253.
49. 1682 May 30. Richard Baxter Powicke, 65-66.
50. 1682/3 Mar. 15. Robert Boyle Birch, 437-439; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 181.
51. 1683 June 21. Robert Boyle Birch, 439-440; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 182.
52. 1683 Nov. 27. Robert Boyle Birch, 440-441; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 182-183.
53. 1684 Apr. 22. Robert Boyle Birch, 442-447; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 183-186.
54. 1686 Aug. 29. Robert Boyle Birch, 447-448; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 187.
55. 1688 July 7. Robert Boyle Birch, 448-449; i *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 187-188.

X

*Books and Pamphlets Printed in the Indian Language for the New
England Company 1649⁷*

1664. Richard Baxter, see Eliot's translations below, 12 and 22.
1665. Lewis Bayly, see Eliot's translations 13 and 21.
1691. John Cotton, see Rawson's translations 36 and 38.
1685. John Cotton, Jr., see Eliot's *Bible*, 19 below, which John Cotton, Jr., edited and amended.
1. 1698. Samuel Danforth, *Greatest Sinners called and encouraged to come to Christ*, &c. (Five sermons by Increase Mather, translated by Samuel Danforth.) Boston.

⁷ Twenty-three printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts; thirteen printed at Boston, Massachusetts; and two printed at London, England. See Trumbull's list in *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, LXI. 45-62 and Winsor's list in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, xxx. 327-359. These societies possess by far the largest collections of these imprints. Eliot's publications 3 to 23 were published in Cambridge, 24 was published at Boston.

2. 1710. Samuel Danforth, *A few words addressed to the poor condemned murderers Josiah and Joseph, in their own languages; at Bristol, 12 October 1709, on the day when their sentence was executed.* (Appended to a sermon by Mr. Danforth entitled: *The Woful Effect of Drunkenness.*) Boston.
1707. Godefridus Dellius, translator of No. 33.
3. 1653. John Eliot, *A Catechism.* Cambridge.
4. 1655. John Eliot, *The Book of Genesis and the Gospel of Matthew.*
5. 1658. John Eliot, *Psalms in Metre.* Cambridge.
6. 1661. John Eliot, *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* Cambridge.
7. 1661. John Eliot, *A Christian Covenanting Confession.* Cambridge.
8. 1662. John Eliot, *A Catechism.* (2nd edition.) Cambridge.
9. 1663. John Eliot, *The Whole Bible, both Old Testament and also the New Testament.* Cambridge.
10. 1663. John Eliot, *The Psalms of David in Metre.* (2nd edition.)
11. 1663. John Eliot, *The Psalter.* Cambridge.
12. 1664. John Eliot, *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.* Cambridge.
13. 1665. John Eliot, *Godly Living: Directs a Christian how he may live to please God.* (Eliot's abridged translation of Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety.*) Cambridge.
14. 1666. John Eliot, *The Indian Grammar Begun.*⁸ Cambridge.
15. 1669. John Eliot, *The Indian Primer, or the way of Training up our Youth of India in the Knowledge of God.* Cambridge.
16. 1671. John Eliot, *Indian Dialogues, For their Instruction in the great service of Christ.* Cambridge.
17. 1672. John Eliot, *The Logick Primer. Some Logical Notions to initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason.* . . . Cambridge.
18. 1680. John Eliot, *The Psalms in Metre.* (3rd edition.) Cambridge.
19. 1685. John Eliot, *The Whole Bible, both Old Testament and also the New Testament.* (2nd edition amended and improved by John Cotton, Jr.) Cambridge.
20. 1685. John Eliot, *The Indian Primer.* (2nd edition.) Cambridge.
21. 1685. John Eliot, *Godly Living, &c.* (2nd edition of Bayly's *Practice of Piety.*) Cambridge.
22. 1688. John Eliot, *Baxter's Call, &c.* (2nd edition.) Cambridge.
23. 1689. John Eliot, *Thomas Shepard's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer* (translated by Mr. Eliot in 1664 and amended and edited by Grindal Rawson in 1689). Cambridge.
24. 1720. John Eliot, *Indian Primer, &c.* (3rd edition, amended by Grindal Rawson.) Boston.

⁸ Reprinted in 2 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IX. 223-312.

25. 1700. Cotton Mather, *An Epistle to the Christian Indians*. Boston.
26. 1705. Cotton Mather, *The Hatchets, to hew down the Tree of Sin, which bears the Fruit of Death, or The Laws, by which the Magistrates are to punish Offenders, among the Indians, as well as among the English*. Boston.
27. 1706. Cotton Mather, *An Epistle to the Christian Indians*. (2nd edition.) Boston.
1707. Cotton Mather, see Mayhew's translation 31.
28. 1714. Cotton Mather, *Family Religion Excited, and Assisted*. Boston.
29. 1714. Cotton Mather, *A Monitor for Communicants*. Boston.
30. 1721. Cotton Mather, *India Christiana*. Boston.
1698. Increase Mather, *Five Sermons*, translated by Danforth, No. 1 above.
31. 1707. Experience Mayhew, Translation of Cotton Mather's *The Day which the Lord hath made*. Boston.
32. 1709. Experience Mayhew, *The Massachusetts Psalter: or, Psalms of David With the Gospel According to John*.⁹ Boston.
33. 1707. Cotton Mather, *Another Tongue brought in, to Confess the Great Saviour of the World*. (In four languages: Iroquois, Latin, English and Dutch.) Boston.
34. 1658. Abraham Pierson, *Some Helps for the Indians, &c.*¹ (In the Quiniac dialect.)
35. 1689. Grindal Rawson, Amended and edited edition of Eliot's translation of Shepard's *Sincere Convert and Sound Believer*. See Eliot's No. 23. Cambridge.
36. 1691. Grindal Rawson, [John Cotton's] *Spiritual Milk for Babes*. Cambridge.
37. 1699. Grindal Rawson, *A Confession of Faith Owned & consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Church Assembled at Boston in New-England, 12 May 1680*. Boston.
38. 1720. Grindal Rawson, *The Indian Primer of the First Book and Milk for Babes*. (3rd edition of Eliot's *Indian Primer*, amended by Grindal Rawson, and 2nd edition of Cotton's *Milk for Babes*, translated by Grindal Rawson.) Boston.
39. 1634. William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (contains several pages of Indian vocabulary). London.
40. 1643. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*.² London.

⁹ This work ranks with Cotton's amended translation of Eliot's Bible as one of the best translations in the Indian language.

¹ Reprinted in Eliot Indian Tracts, No. ix. q.v.

² Reprinted in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, III. 203-239; V. 80-106.

February Meeting, 1949

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 February 1949, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. HENRY HORNBLOWER, II, and Mr. WALDRON PHOENIX BELKNAP, JR. accepting election to Resident Membership, and from Mr. CARL BRIDENBAUGH accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The President reported the death on 2 January 1949 of ELDON REVARE JAMES, an Associate Member; that on 18 January 1949 of ALLSTON BURR, a Resident Member, and that on 19 February 1949 of MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. MICHAEL J. WALSH read a paper entitled "Matt B. Jones and his Collection of Americana."

The Editor communicated by title the following paper by Professor G. H. TURNBULL:

George Stirk, Philosopher by Fire (1628?-1665)

GEORGE STIRK was born in Bermuda, the son of the Reverend George Stirk,¹ who was Church of England minister to the Southampton Tribe there, and who died in 1637. His name is given variously as Stirk, Stirke, Stirky, Sterky, Starkey and Starkie. Fer-

¹ George L. Kittredge, "George Stirk, Minister," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XIII. 16-59; this article will hereafter be referred to as Kittredge I. There are many references to the younger Stirk in Professor Kittredge's article on *Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant* (hereafter referred to as Kittredge II), 1-146, of our *Publications*. It is to be regretted that Professor Kittredge died before being able to fulfill his promise (I. 52, II. 146) of writing a paper on George Stirk the younger.

guson² says Stirk seems to have been really his name, but Robert Child, who knew him well, informed Samuel Hartlib in 1650 (as recorded in the latter's *Ephemerides* for that year) that he "writes his name Stirke"; Child may only have meant this form rather than Starkey, without insisting on the "e," which indeed may be Hartlib's own writing of the name as he had heard it from Child's own mouth. His father's name, too, is spelled Stirke in contemporary documents, though Professor Kittredge uses the form Stirk, which indeed is that used by the Reverend George Stirk himself.³

The younger Stirk seems to have been born in 1628. In his *Ephemerides* for 1650⁴ Hartlib gives Stirk's age then variously as 21, 22 and 23, before meeting him; but, after meeting him for the first time on 11 December of that year, he records, among other details, from Child and Stirk's "owne mouth," his age as "but of 22 y[ears]."⁵

In 1639 Stirk was recommended by the Reverend Patrick Copland, of Warwick's Tribe, to the care of John Winthrop the elder and went to Harvard College for his education, instead of going to England. In 1644, before he graduated, he began to study chemistry⁶ in his spare time and later, in 1648, he wrote to borrow books on the subject and chemical apparatus from John Winthrop the younger.⁷ He graduated Bachelor of Arts at Harvard College in 1646 and, according to Kittredge,⁸ was practising medicine at Boston from 1647 to 1650. He was certainly practising medicine there in 1648, for William White, in a letter to Robert Child of 8 May 1649, found among Hartlib's papers, after describing what he had had to endure and how ill he had been treated by people like Mr. Robert Leader and his wife, added that twelve weeks before he left Boston for the Bermudas, which was apparently in July 1648,⁹ Stirk,

² John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1906), II. 403.

³ As in a letter by him, of which there is a photograph between pages 47 and 49 of Kittredge I.

⁴ For the use of which and of other documents from Samuel Hartlib's papers I am indebted to their owner, Lord Delamere.

⁵ The information given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that Stirk was born perhaps in 1606 in Leicestershire, got a medical degree and went to America, seems to be quite erroneous.

⁶ On pages 6-7 of *A smart scourge*, 1665, but signed (page 8) by Stirk on 9 December 1664, he says: "as for my Chemical Studies, this is the one and twentieth year therein."

⁷ *Winthrop Papers*, v, 1645-1649, Mass. Hist. Soc. (Boston, 1947), 241-242. The younger Winthrop may have influenced Stirk towards the study of chemistry.

⁸ Kittredge I. 16.

⁹ *Winthrop Papers*, v. 235-236 and 239-240.

who had begun to practise "physick" at Boston, "had such practise that he tooke me a great house and gave me 5s a daye . . . and there I shewed such works there that gentle and symple saide that I had beene wronged dyvers ways." In *A smart scourge*, published in 1665, but written in 1664,¹ Stirk says:² "Of my publick profession of the Art of Medicine, this is the seventeenth year." In that book and in his *Epistolar Discourse* (1665), he styles himself M.D.; but it is not known where he obtained that degree, nor when.³

The younger Stirk's mother was the daughter of Stephen Painter,⁴ councillor for the Southampton Tribe and factor or agent in the Bermudas for Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick. A George Stirk is mentioned⁵ as "hir sonne" in a petition of 20 May 1650, from Elizabeth Stoughton, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, widow of Israel Stoughton, who died in 1644,⁶ and Sibley concludes⁷ that, if this "be the graduate, it is obvious, though not sustained by any known record, that Israel Stoughton . . . became a widower, and married the widow of the Reverend George Stirk." But it is possible that George Stirk's widow was already dead by the summer of 1650, if not earlier.⁸ Now the younger Stirk was certainly married by 1652, for John Dury remembered his "service" to Stirk's wife in a letter to Hartlib of 14 May of that year. Moreover, in his first entry about Stirk in his *Ephemerides* for 1650, written between 13/23 March and 9 April, Hartlib recorded the information from Robert Leader that Stirk was "lately married to one Stoughton's daughter⁹ there," i.e., in New England. It is more reasonable, therefore, to suppose that he was Elizabeth and Israel Stoughton's son-in-law, rather than "sonne," and

¹ See note 6. ² Page 7.

³ Stirk did not use the title in any of his earlier publications; but, as we shall see, Benjamin Worsley referred to him as "Dr. Sterky" in November 1650, and Stirk's friend, Astell, in the preface to his edition, 1675, of Stirk's *Liquor Alchahest*, styles him "Dr."

⁴ *Winthrop Papers*, v. 98, n. 1.

⁵ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404, quoting from John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, I (Cambridge, 1873), 131-137.

⁶ Or possibly early in 1645, because, according to the *D.N.B.*, he came to England towards the end of 1644, was appointed lieutenant colonel in the parliamentary army and died soon afterwards at Lincoln. His son, William, was at New College, Oxford, from 1652 until after the Restoration.

⁷ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404, n. 1, quoting Sibley.

⁸ Kittredge I. 54.

⁹ Her name is given as Susanna by W. R. Parker in the introduction to his edition of *The Dignity of Kingship asserted*, Facsimile Text Society, Publication No. 54 (1942), xviii.

that Sibley's conjecture is wrong. In a later letter to Hartlib, of 29 May 1652, Dury referred to Stirk's "family"; but there is no further evidence of what this comprised at that time.

Before he left New England, Stirk became Master of Arts at Harvard College.¹ Information recorded in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* confirms this,² adding that he "is of a most rare and incomparable universall witt," "prepares his owne Physick and hath done a number of most strange and desperate cures, as of the dropsy, dead palsy and others," and is "also very chymicall." Robert Child told Hartlib that Stirk, whom he had known in New England, was "famous already" for his cures and was a Presbyterian³ and of Scots parents, born in the Bermudas. After his first meeting with Stirk, Hartlib recorded among other things, from Dr. Child and Stirk's "owne mouth," that Stirk had been confined for two years in New England on suspicion of being "a Spie or Jesuit,"⁴ but afterwards practised physic there "with great successe as hee still undertakes for feavers, stone, falling sickness, dropsy," that he had lacked mainly glasshouses in New England and had spent more than £500 on "natural and chymical experiments."

Child also told Hartlib that Stirk had "a vast stupendious memory" and was an excellent Hebrew and Greek scholar. Stirk himself in his writings alludes several times to his education. In one place⁵ he says of his adversaries: "Are they Physicians by profession? so am I, educated in the schools as well as they, graduated as well as they, nor was my time idly spent, but in the Tongues and course of Philosophy usually taught, in Logick and other Arts read in the Schools. . . . For the vulgar Logick and Philosophy, I was altogether educated in it, though never satisfied with it; at length Aristotles Logick I exchanged for that of Ramus, and found myself as empty as before; and for authors in medicine, Fernelius and Sennertus were those I most chiefly applyed myself to, and Galen, Fucksius, Ayicen, and others I read, and with diligence noted, what I

¹ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404, quoting Sibley.

² Another entry in the *Ephemerides* says Stirk "is a M^r of Art in N[ew] E[ngland] and theref[ore] in Old E[ngland] also enjoying the same Priviledges."

³ This does not tally with his father being a minister of the Church of England; yet Child repeated the statement to Hartlib in 1651. Kittredge (I. 22), however, says that Stirk's father was a "high Calvinist," but was nevertheless, while minister in Bermuda, "under no suspicion of nonconformity."

⁴ There seems to be no further evidence on this matter, and it is difficult to fit this period of two years' confinement into the known history of Stirk's life between 1644 and 1650.

⁵ *Natures Explication*, Epistle to the Reader.

could apprehend useful, and accounted this practical knowledge a great treasure, till practical experience taught me, that what I had learned was of no value, and then was I to seek for a new path, in which I might walk with greater certainty, and by God's blessing, by the tutorage of the fire, I attained true medicines taught obscurely by Paracelsus, but only explained by labour and diligence in the Art of Pyrotechny." Elsewhere⁶ he explains that his first suspicion of the complete rottenness of the foundations of the current Philosophy was occasioned by a disputation on the possibility of making gold potable, his studies of the subject making him see the rottenness of both Logic and Philosophy; and he goes on: "now I apprehended (before years and titles had engaged me) that besides what I knew in Tongues my skill in Logick and Philosophy was not worth contemning, yet nothing was in my eyes more vile. I therefore rejected Aristotle and all his fictions, against whose fallacious shew I wrote with a pen dipt in salt and vinegar, yet without gall, a Treatise called *Organum novum Philosophiae* . . . then I perused some Chymical Authors." In a later work⁷ he writes of being born and bred generously, and educated from his youth in learning, of his chemical studies and of his public profession of the art of medicine, "in which art in particular, as of Learning in General, I have had as much Academical honour, as by the conferring of degrees, Students and Practitioners are capable of."

Stirk was probably drawing on his own earlier experience and knowledge when he told Hartlib of the "hugely great" silk-spider of the Bermudas, that spins a strong web between tree and tree, making "most excellent silke in great abundance," far better than silkworms, and that might be kept in England, and of the excellent oranges and lemons grown there, far better than "any in Spain," as the Spanish Ambassador confessed after "entertainment with them by the late E[arl] of Arundel."⁸

The account of Stirk in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that he returned to England in 1646. This is quite erroneous, for Stirk does not seem to have been in England before, and he did not arrive here until 1650. Kittredge conjectures⁹ that he came in 1651 with his sister and his grandfather, Stephen Painter, but elsewhere¹ he says it was in 1650

⁶ *Ibid.*, 35-38.

⁷ *A smart scourge*, 6-7. Cf. what Astell wrote of him in the preface to his edition of Stirk's *Liquor Alchahest*: "That his acquirements were great, is not unknown to the world, especially to those who had any intimate familiarity with him, his writings testifie his ability in the Philosophy, or learning of the schools, as well as in that of Nature, his discoveries having truly intituled him Philosophus per Ignem."

⁸ Probably Thomas Howard, second Earl. 1586-1646.

⁹ Kittredge I. 16, 55, and n. 2 on 55.

¹ Kittredge II. 101 and n. 6 there.

or 1651, probably in the latter part of 1650, leaving Boston some time after 6 August 1650. The matter is now settled for us by entries in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* for 1650, where it is recorded that on 29 November Benjamin Worsley brought Hartlib "the first news of young Dr. Sterky come hither out of N[ew] E[ngland]," and that on 11 December Hartlib met Stirk for the first time on the Exchange. In an earlier entry for that year, made between 13/23 March and 9 April, Hartlib records that Stirk should have come over in the company of Mr. (Richard) Leader, his "intimate friend."²

Stirk appears to have lived in England from his arrival in November 1650 until his death in 1665. Something has hitherto been known concerning this period of his life; but Hartlib's papers, now available, provide much new and valuable additional information for the first ten years or so. In the following account of him and of his activities during this period the source drawn upon, except where otherwise stated, has been these papers; and in particular, the journal labelled *Ephemerides* which Hartlib kept, and various letters which came into his hands.

Stirk experimented much with the transmutation of metals. According to the *Ephemerides* for 1651, he had already made, in America, more than fifteen hundred experiments with antimony, having got from a *filius Hermetis* in New England, who had the elixir, the hints and some of the gold and silver made by the latter with the elixir; though otherwise Stirk was "a pure Helmontian."³ Hartlib, apparently quoting Stirk, records that the "anonymous adept" in New England, presumably the same person as the *filius Hermetis*, got *his* hints from reading some papers of John White, called the Gilder of Norwich.⁴ In the same year, 1651, Robert Child told Hartlib of Stirk's "admirable skill" in the making of furnaces of all kinds,⁵ and of his having discovered how to make furnaces

² In that year Leader was replaced by John Gifford in the management of iron works in Massachusetts; Kittredge II. 12.

³ In his *Pyrotechny*, Epistle Dedicatory, iii, Stirk says of Helmont: "whom I formerly made my Chymical Evangelist, but do now believe, not convinced by his Arguments and Reasons, but by Experimental Confirmation and Practical Ocular Demonstration." Cf. *ibid.*, 78, where Stirk acknowledges that he has reaped more benefit from Helmont's writings than from those of any other ancient or modern writer, and has spent fourteen years in the prosecution of Helmont's discoveries without the least cause for repenting that he ever undertook to do so. In 1650 Hartlib recorded that Stirk was a great lover and admirer of Helmont, and in the same year Child told Hartlib that Stirk knew "almost all Helmont by heart."

⁴ Not identified.

⁵ Stirk himself said, in a letter to the younger Winthrop of 2 August 1648: "I have built a furnace, very exquisitely"; *Winthrop Papers*, v. 241-242. In *Natures Ex-*

like Glauber's before seeing any of the latter's. Early⁶ in 1651, John Dury saw Stirk extract from antimony silver equal in weight to gold, and from iron gold of the color of the rose noble, and estimated that Stirk might easily make £300 a year in this way. However, Stirk could only make three ounces of silver and gold at a time, and complained that he found the making hard work, like that of a horse working a mill continually; whereas, if he had more accommodation and used more instruments, he might make as many ounces as he pleased. Benjamin Worsley, therefore, who claimed that he and Johann Moriaen could turn the antimonial silver into gold and extract gold in great quantity from tin and iron,⁷ wished Stirk to cease toiling for small quantities and join them in their work, whereby he would be a great gainer. Stirk, however, had vowed, if he got "the great secret," not to make any private profit by it. Moreover, according to Dury, Stirk himself could turn silver into gold, and could also extract silver from tin, his silver amazing people by its exact resemblance to ordinary silver; he had at last found someone who would pay him what he asked for this silver, but Worsley had pointed out the danger of selling it thus, since it ought to be handed in to the Mint.

On 30 May 1651 Stirk wrote a letter to Johann Moriaen, then at Amsterdam, to whom he was introduced by Dury in a letter which described Stirk as possessed of the same desire as themselves, viz., to promote piety, truth and every virtue useful for the propagation of Christianity,⁸ and which expressed the hope that Moriaen and Stirk would work together for these ends. Stirk told Moriaen that he pursued truth, not fame, and had no secrets for sale. He had seen the "stone" for making gold, and had been given some ounces of the "stone" for making silver by a young friend, who had both "elixirs"; the friend was still alive, but his name Stirk had bound himself by oath to conceal for ever. Stirk had seen his friend, an adept, make and multiply his elixir with sophic mercury, but without seeing exactly how, because of the caution observed by the adept. Stirk had lost seven of his nine parts of the "stone" in trying it with sophic mercury given him by the adept, before discovering that the "stone" had

plication, 38, he said, speaking of the early years of his chemical studies: "I invented many sorts of Furnaces."

⁶ Hartlib made this entry in his *Ephemerides* just after 23 April.

⁷ For a description of a process for the transmutation of metals see 119-120 of *The Stone of the Philosophers* in *Collectanea Chemica* (1893).

⁸ Cf. *Pyrotechny*, 55, where Stirk says: "The Gifts of God are not our own to employ at our pleasure, but are to be used for his Glory, and the good both of ourselves, and such among whom we converse."

impurities which hindered the multiplication.⁹ After he had made many unsuccessful attempts to extract such mercury from metals and minerals, God in pity gave him the idea of the difference between the extraction of mercury from bodies "in the destructive way" and that which "occurs in male and female."¹ The latter, called "copper mercury," enabled him to extract the purest gold and wonderful silver, almost equal to gold in weight; it separates gold into "irreducible antimony" and a black powder within two months. Stirk does not claim that this is the true sophic mercury, but he believes it is its true basis; and it differs little from the true, of which he still has a little.²

⁹ Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 403; Stirk "is said to have . . . obtained . . . a quantity of a powder for transmuting metals into silver . . . but [to have] lost his powder in attempts to convert it into the tincture for gold." For other cases of supposed transmutation of metals, and stories based thereon of a mysterious adept who possessed the necessary "stone" or powder, see Kittredge II. 133-134. Stirk himself, in an undated letter to Clodius which I place in July or August 1652, told of the recent visit to him in London of an old philosopher (of at least 75 years of age) from Brussels, a familiar friend of Helmont when alive, who had received, along with Helmont, a little piece of the Elixir Aurificum from a Monsieur Shatteleet, a friend of Helmont, and who had many secrets, including a universal liquor, and could dissolve everything, including gold, on which he worked chiefly, trying to recombine this volatile irreducible oil with its mercury, separated by his tinctures, and to digest it into a green, white and yellow powder.

¹ Cf. 88 of *The Stone of the Philosophers*, in *Collectanea Chemica* (1893): "some, who were adepts in the art, have by painful processes taken gold for their male, and the mercury, which they knew how to extract from the less compacted metals, for a female." Cf. 97-98: "We shall go on to observe that the ores of Metals are our First Matter, or sperm, wherein the seed is contained, and the key of this art consists in a right dissolution of the ores into a water, which the philosophers call their mercury, or water of life, and an earthy substance, which they have denominated their sulphur. The first is called their woman, wife, Luna, and other names, signifying that it is the feminine quality in their seed; the other they have denominated their man, husband, Sol, etc. to point out its masculine quality. In the separation and due conjunction of these two with heat, and careful management, there is generated a noble offspring, which they have for its excellency called the quintessence, or a subject wherein the four elements are so completely harmonised as to produce a fifth subsisting in the fire, without waste of substance, or diminution of its virtue."

² In his address "To the Reader" in the *Marrow of Alchemy*, as quoted by Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 475, Stirk says that the author of that work "was an eye-witnesse of the great secret . . . [and] had by gift a portion of that precious Jewel so sought for by many but found of few; which portion although he did for the most part lose it in hopes of multiplication of it (which he could not attain, being of the White not the Red powder), yet by diligent search and industry he attained the preparation of the *Philosopher's Mercury*, and by it to the preparation of the Elixir of the first order, which is indeed but of small vertue compared to what it may be advanced to . . . [but] which will tinge ☿ or any imperfect metal into ☾." On 8 August 1653, Hartlib recorded that Clodius had transcribed and sent to Moriaen the true preparation of this Philosopher's Mercury, as Stirk had imparted it to Boyle. Stirk

In April 1652 Dury wrote to Hartlib expressing the hope that Stirk would "not make haste at an adventure upon the great work," but would set upon "the lucriferous experiments which God hath put into his hand," and so promote "his own comfort" and "the accomplishment of our joint public designs." In a letter to Hartlib of 29 May of the same year Dury mentioned Stirk's illness and went on: "I can say nothing else but that he hath been faithfull hitherto to us in his aimes; if God would have blessed his endeavours and directed him a way of advantage to trade therewith, he might have been out of his straits before this time, but that which he has thought the most compendious and reddie way for his own relief and the advancement of public designs hath not obtained a blessing of successe hitherto. I could have wished that he had followed the plainest roade way of knowen experiments which might have been lucriferous; but his hope to abbreviat his way hath retarded his designe for want of successe."

Frederick Clodius told Hartlib, his father-in-law, in August 1652 that it was said Stirk could certainly make from copper a gold that stood all the tests except that of taste, and from which could be made vessels answering in color, weight and beauty to the purest gold; but that Stirk's extraction of silver from tin was the more profitable experiment. On 18 August 1652 Hartlib, Dury and Clodius made a pact in which they stated that their joint efforts to promote the public good were not to injure or prejudice anyone, and that their efforts were to help Stirk and serve his honor and advantage.

Hartlib has recorded that on 2 March 1653 Stirk came and told him that he had now perfected his experiment to make *Luna fixa*, and that this silver passed all the tests of the goldsmith, being therefore equivalent to gold except for the color, which could easily be added. Later that year Stirk told Hartlib that an ounce of his silver sold for forty shillings; he wore a ring of antimony obtained from this silver and mixed with some pure gold which was thereby turned into silver and made incapable of separation from it.

Stirk himself related in verse his experiments in transmutation, and the following excerpts³ give the gist of the story as he told it:

"An Artist once I said, I knew him well . . .
Of whom I from my knowledge can rehearse,
That he had both Elixer white and red . . .

describes the differences between Philosopher's Mercury and the Alcahest in his *Pyrotechny*, 22-25.

³ *Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, 1654, Second Book, 21-32.

Of the white medicine to me a part
 He freely gave two ounces weight or more
 Which was of vertue truly to convert . . .
 Full six-score thousand times its quantity.
 I nothing found which was to it of kin,
 But it would tinge it into silver pure . . .
 [which] Would like to gold abide in *aqua fort*
 And would like gold passe Antimony, yea,
 In weight it equal'd Sol, so that report
 Hath told me it was white gold by th' assay . . .
 Only of Sol it wanted colour due,
 If I had known this working when I had
 More of my medicine, I had been made.
 For why this Lune is gold indeed, and will
 For gold be sold at more than half the rate,
 At which that Sol which tinted hath its fill . . .
 This man who gave this gift to me . . .
 For living he's I hope . . .
 His present place in which he doth abide
 I know not, for the world he walks about . . .
 By Nation an Englishman, of note
 His Family is in the place where he
 Was born, his Fortunes good, and eke his Coat
 Of Arms is of a great antiquity,
 His learning rare, his years scarce thirty three . . .
 When then on me he freely did conferre
 The foresaid blessing, also he did adde
 A portion of his Mercury . . .
 This Mercury was that with which he did
 His Redstone multiply exceedingly . . .
 I thought that if the red
 And white were both multiplicable, then
 One progresse linear to either led,
 Which was a false ground, this my errour ten
 Of twelve parts quite destroi'd, and yet unwise,
 So many lessons might me not suffice.
 Those two parts then I mixed with Luna pure,
 Ten other times its weight, and then anew
 I fell to work again, hoping that sure,
 Once right might nineteen errours losse renew,
 Yet when my fire was almost out, I thought
 Upon the reason of the thing I sought.
 So that few grains [of my white medicine] excepted I did waste
 All what I had bestowed on me . . .

My fire nigh out, I forced was to spend
 Some of what did remain to serve expense . . .
 And need since that inforced me to use
 Some little of a little, so that now
 The rest I was compel'd (ne could I choose)
 To mix with Luna fine, or else I trow
 I soon a grain might lose which was my store,
 This then I mixt with other ten grains more . . .
 Thus with my trials oft my Mercury
 Was now to nothing brought or very little . . .
 At last my good friend once again I met,
 And what had happened I did not hide,
 I . . . hop'd anew from him to be supplied,
 But this also my hope was much deluded . . .
 For when he understood what I had tri'd . . .
 He saw that if he me anew suppli'd,
 That I could go to the Hesperian Tree,
 And pluck the Apples at my list, and then
 Might do much mischief unto honest men."

In 1655 Boyle told Hartlib that Dr. Jones⁴ was making a full trial of the experiment on antimony and gold which Stirk had imparted to Boyle, and had already found that the antimony did "much exalt" the gold, so that silver might be mixed with it.

Stirk records⁵ that he was first set, through the incitation and encouragement of Helmont, upon the search for the immortal dissolving liquor, called by Paracelsus his *Liquor Alchahest*. To the search for this "liquor," which was the thing he most desired in the world, he devoted himself seriously for fully eight years and persevered, in spite of the tediousness involved in its preparation, until he learned the secret of its origin and preparation.⁶

The eight years⁷ would appear to have been from 1644 to 1652. It was

⁴ Henry Jones (1605-1682).

⁵ *Pyrotechny*, 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-19. He devotes five chapters of that work (IX-XIII, 17-46) to a description of its "vertue and efficacy," the material from which it is made and the manner of making it.

⁷ In *Natures Explication*, 1657, 295, Stirk states the time involved rather differently: "I must ingenuously professe that my mind was so fixed with eagerness after that secret [Liquor Alchahest] that I did for nigh ten years make it my main search." In his *Pyrotechny*, 34, he writes "of many years tryals (off and on) but of nigh two years almost daily (I am sure weekly) search." The two years may well have dated from his arrival in England at the end of 1650.

in 1644, as has already been mentioned, that Stirk began to study chemistry in his spare time. When Worsley informed Hartlib on 29 November 1650, of Stirk's arrival in England he mentioned that he had come "with a full confidence of the Alkahest"; and Hartlib himself recorded, after his first meeting with Stirk on 11 December 1650, that Stirk could "fix mercury." Early in 1651 Boyle told Hartlib that the preparation of the liquor that Stirk must make, "I mean the Alkahest," would cost him two or three months;⁸ and we have already noted that, at the end of May 1651, Stirk claimed, in his letter to Moriaen, to have discovered how to obtain sophic mercury or something almost exactly the same.⁹ Hartlib recorded that, on 26 August 1652, Clodius saw the mercury "brought over the helm" by Stirk's Alkahest, and as we have already seen, Stirk told Hartlib on 2 March 1653, that he had perfected his experiment to make *Luna fixa*; but in the summer of 1653 Clodius told Hartlib that he had sent Stirk an extract from Helmont about what the Alkahest "properly was," and its virtues and uses, "which Stirk never knew."

Stirk himself said in 1657,¹ that as soon as he knew the secret of the Liquor Alkahest, and could prepare it, "my spirit was so satisfied with the knowledge thereof, that I never hitherto prepared it. For the way as I made it was very tedious." Elsewhere² he explained that, since his success in the search for the secret, he had never had a convenient op-

⁸ In his *Pyrotechny*, 26-27, Stirk said he hoped to be able to prepare the liquor in 50 ð [= ? days], perhaps in only 40. Boyle ultimately saw and admired the liquor which Stirk obtained, but it seemed to him "far short of the Alkahest"; T. Birch, *Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle*, 6 vols. (London, 1772), II. 97 (where the "chymist" is to be identified with Stirk, and where the "Dr. C." is Clodius). The white tincture (which transmutes the inferior metals into silver), and the (higher) red (which is a universal remedy) are described in *The Stone of the Philosophers*, 116-117.

⁹ Early in 1651 Child told Hartlib that the elixir which Stirk was then making "is not yet that universal Alkahest, but it is an approximation." Stirk must have told Child about the progress of his experiments before the latter left England for Ireland, where he landed on 20 May 1651, for Child wrote thus from Ireland to Hartlib about Stirk on 23 November 1652: "I believe he hath already told me his Alkahest. I am glad if it prove soe."

¹ *Natures Explication*, 295. Astell, a friend of Stirk, stated in the preface to his edition (1675) of Stirk's *Liquor Alkahest*: "I must confess, I never could get a sight of the Alkahest prepared by him."

² *Pyrotechny*, 31, 34. On 153, 159-160 and 168-169 he writes of his lack of conveniences, such as space and suitable furnaces, for further operations. In *Natures Explication*, 225, he also writes of "oft times running in debt for conveniences, and necessities, and sparing out of my belly to finde out new experiments." Astell, *op. et loc. cit.*, speaks of Stirk's "want of conveniences, being hurried from place to place," as a possible reason for his never having seen Stirk's Alkahest.

portunity to repeat the operations, and that he lost what he had of the liquor through the breaking of his glass vessel.

He advised³ others, however, against beginning their study of chemistry in aid of medicine, as he had done, with the search for this secret, which is "the top-stone of medicinal art," likening such a course to the madness of a man who, having to climb a ladder, wants to begin at the top and refuses to use the lower rungs.

Stirk claimed that the Liquor Alcahest was itself a noble and universal medicine⁴ and also that, by its use, specific remedies for various diseases could be made from vegetables, metals and minerals;⁵ the highest preparation of gold that could be made by it being able to cure the most deplorable diseases,⁶ but "the sweet oyl of Venus," prepared from copper and the liquor, being the most "sovereign remedy for most (not to say all) diseases."⁷

Before Stirk came over from New England, Robert Leader informed Hartlib that Stirk prepared his own medicines and had cures for such desperate diseases as dropsy and "dead palsy," and Child told Hartlib that Stirk was "famous already for curing the palsy and other incurable diseases." When Hartlib himself met Stirk in London for the first time on 11 December 1650, Stirk was "going about to prepare his physick"; and a little later Child told Hartlib that Stirk had spent all his medicines, having given most of them away, before he came from New England, but had already twenty good patients in England and was still undertaking to cure fevers, the stone, the falling sickness and dropsy.

In regard to the stone, Child told Hartlib in December 1650 that Stirk had a "liquor" which, put into the eye, did not hurt, but which dissolved "before your eys" a stone from the bladder put into it, and which is therefore to be injected into the bladder to cure that disease. He added that Stirk had not yet prepared that "liquor," but could cure the stone in the kidneys "more readily"; apparently by means of another medicine,⁸ for

³ *Pyrotechny*, 49; cf. 80, where he disapproves of the zeal that made him search for the Liquor, almost to the neglect of all other things, when he would have done better, as he advises others to do, to proceed more gradually and secure ground gained before trying to win new.

⁴ *Pyrotechny*, 21. In 1652 Clodius called Stirk's Alcahest a most noble medicine and universal, except for the stone, "which requires another preparation."

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28-31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁸ A few weeks later, however, Child told Hartlib that Stirk, then lodged with Mr. Webbe [perhaps Joseph Webbe], was making a liquor which was an approximation

early in January, 1651, Boyle informed Hartlib that Stirk had made ready the other "liquor" for curing the stone in the kidneys. Boyle added that Stirk had prescribed that Boyle take the liquor, one ingredient of which was *Essentia Croci*, in a vehiculum of white wine with "oculis cancer[um] contusis," and had commended highly, "as most proper for the kidneys," the spirit of sulphur, the spirit of salt, the spirit of turpentine and "mire" [? myrrh].

In his letter to Moriaen of 30 May 1651 Stirk claimed to have learned from a description by Johannes Helmont the secret of the preparation of the "mercury of life" of Paracelsus, and to have then made, from the "best" mercury and the purest "copper antimony," a medicine which, though not yet perfect, cures, so far as he has tried it, gout, consumption and other inveterate diseases commonly called incurable. Indeed, he seems to have sought a more universal medicine for years. Even as early as the beginning of 1651 Boyle told Hartlib that the preparation of the "physick" or Liquor Alcahest would take Stirk two or three months, and as late as the middle of 1653 Boyle told Hartlib that Stirk was bragging that he had "now perfected nobiliss[imam] medicinam which he had reduced ad mellaginem,"⁹ i.e., which is sulphur of mercury or q[ui]ck silver, to be now used without any danger at all." Indeed, he claimed that his later medicine "far exceeded" the "pill" that he used in the earlier years from 1651 to 1655.¹

In 1652 Clodius told Hartlib that Stirk's medicines were then only in the form of salts, so that they could not be sent far away because they

to the Alcahest, and which would do to cure, without pain or injury, the stone "in the reines and bladder," but would need at least ten weeks for its preparation. Moreover, later, in his *Starkey's Pill* [? 1660], 8, Stirk claimed to have prepared the Ludus of Helmont, twenty drops of which cure the stone "radically, both in the kidneys and bladder, and take away all future inclinations thereto." For this Ludus, and Hartlib's wish to have it prepared for him by Clodius in 1659, see Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 96-97, and VI. 122.

⁹ *Sic*, for ? melliginem.

¹ *Starkey's Pill*, 2. Cf. *A brief Examination*, where he says (p. 1) that in 1651 he began to use publicly in his medical practice several "succedaneous" remedies, i.e., rather inferior substitutes, for the cure of diseases, especially acute diseases, and (p. 4) that he had, since 1655, "amended and advanced beyond credit" the pill, whose preparation he taught to Mr. Mathew in that year. In his *The Admirable Efficacy . . . of True Oil . . . of Sulphur Vive* (in *Collectanea Chemica* [1893], 51-53) he refers to the pill as an "anodinous elixir," saying that he had improved upon it to such an extent that it was now the most inferior in virtue of all his medicines, and called by him his "Elixir Diaphoretick Commune," of which "able, judicious practitioners (having once bought his more effective and higher graduated preparations in the same kind) have so low an esteem (comparatively to these others) that they desire no more thereof."

would melt,² a disadvantage which could be overcome when they were brought to perfection in powders.

In 1657, in his attack on those doctors whom he called Galenists, Stirk challenged them to a trial:³ "let them give me as much for each party cured, as I will forfeit for each uncured of a thousand in acute diseases in four daies, that is, in Feavers, Pleurisies, Small-pox, Measles, Fluxes, Calentures, and Agues four fits, not Hectical, or if Quartan and Hecticall, in four weeks, provided the strength be not wasted to despair." He claimed⁴ that he cured yearly more fevers, agues and pleurisies than any Galenist did in about twice the time, sometimes dealing annually with nearly two hundred cases of ague, and with many more of fever, pleurisy, flux and vomiting, of which scarcely five were not perfectly cured, and that, moreover, many doctors, in London and in the country, used his medicines to cure and relieve thousands of people every year.

Whether or not he obtained a universal medicine in the form of the Liquor Alcahest, Stirk was trying, as early as 1652, to prepare medicines without the latter. By the autumn of that year, according to Hartlib's record, Stirk had found out a kind of fermentation whereby he could prepare excellent medicines and cordials, "as good as if they were done with the Alcah[est], yet without the Alcahest," and instanced the medicines he made *ex herbis venenatis*. In December 1652 he told Hartlib that he had perfected his *Tartarus Volatilis*,⁵ whereby he could prepare all

² On 24 March 1652 Dury, who had embarked on a ship for Sweden, wrote to Hartlib that, when he opened the medicine which Stirk had given him, he found that "the moist aire of the sea had begunne to cause it melt; therefore I gotte a small glass bottle and put it into it, that if it should melt it should not be lost."

³ *Natures Explication*, in the Epistle to the Reader, which is dated 20 November 1656.

⁴ *Natures Explication*, 232-233. He adds: "but my cures are too contemptible for the rich, counsel and medicine in almost two thirds of my cures scarce exceeding, sometimes not amounting to a crown, not one in forty rising to above an Angel." On p. 225 he says, in reference to a physician who was making £1000 a year, that he himself cures in a year about as many poor patients gratis as this physician has in his practice, and goes on: "to others that are rich, I give both medicines and counsel, asking nothing till the cure is performed, and then by some put off with little, and by some with nothing, because my medicaments are but little in quantity, and the cure (beyond expectation) speedily effected; and yet whatever I do get I lay out in future discoveries, and all to do good to an ungrateful generation; oft times running in debt for conveniences, and necessities, and sparing out of my belly to finde out new experiments in medicine, and yet for all this getting on one hand hatred and opposition, and on the other hand, contempt for performing cures so soon and cheap; yet I know that my reward will be a good name when I am gone, and from God hereafter."

⁵ Cf. Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 150-151, where Boyle quotes from Helmont about this salt

kinds of medicines without the Alcahest, and that he valued it as much as the latter, if not more, for the preparation of medicines.

His friend, Astell, who never saw Stirk's Alcahest, said⁶ that he did not know whether the reason was that Stirk was importuned for remedies by patients, whose condition would not permit their waiting for medicines "of so high a preparation," or that Stirk's want of conveniences hurried him from place to place; but he added that he knew Stirk to possess several "magisteries," or potent curative agencies, and to have been master, not many months before his death in 1665, of a mercurial medicine, "whose effects were such that it merited the name of an Arcanum." As we have already seen, Stirk was constantly seeking for more and more universal medicines.⁷

Stirk's discovery in 1652 of a process of fermentation whereby he could prepare cordials without the Alcahest as good as those made with it has just been mentioned. Hartlib's record of this information adds that the "Elixir Proprietatis⁸ is very fragrant and refreshing." Stirk himself told Hartlib in the same year that he reckoned that the best cordial in the world was "Chircotan,"⁹ the material for which was to be sent to him from Bilbao by his friend Mr. Neale, along with orange flowers and other things.

Stirk had specific cures for various ailments and diseases. In 1651 Boyle told Hartlib that Stirk, acting on a "singular opinion" from Helmont, was undertaking to cure consumption by a new kind of ferment under the throat, this "being the seat of that disease." In 1651 Child told Hartlib that Stirk had cured Colonel (Owen) Rowe's daughter of imperfections

of tartar, discusses the possibility of volatilizing it, and mentions that "an ingenious acquaintance of mine [? Clodius], whom notwithstanding my wonted distrusts of chymists, I durst credit, affirmed to me, that he had himself seen a true and real *Sal tartari volatile*, made of alkali of tartar, and had seen strange things done with it" [? by Stirk]. Stirk himself (*Pyrotechny*, 80) quotes, like Boyle, the same advice of Helmont to the medical chemist: "If you cannot attain to that hidden fire [the Liquor Alcahest], yet learn to make the Salt of Tartar Volatile, that by it you may make your dissolutions."

⁶ *Op. et loc. cit.*

⁷ Early in 1651 Hartlib recorded that Stirk should have gone on first of all with his "lucriferous" experiment of antimony (for transmutation) and have prepared his universal medicines afterwards.

⁸ Cf. what Boyle says of this elixir and of its use as a cordial and as a medicine, and what Hartlib and John Beale thought of it; Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 149, VI. 94, 351. According to Stirk (*Pyrotechny*, 30), Helmont commended it for long life.

⁹ Perhaps chiratin, one of the chief constituents of chirata, from which a bitter is made.

in her eyes, "which the chirurgions and doctors could not doe"; and in 1653 Stirk himself informed Hartlib that the heart and liver of a viper, taken out fresh or hot and put into wine, makes a drink which is an excellent preservative and restorative for the eyes, because those organs are "mighty venereal and so consequently excellent." In his record of his first meeting with Stirk in December 1650 Hartlib noted that "in feavers¹ he used a Bezoardicum² and somwt [[?] somewhat] of antimony," and early in 1651 Boyle told Hartlib that Stirk had almost got ready his medicine for fevers. Early in 1651, too, Dury told Hartlib that Stirk claimed that only one thing would take away the "noisome" taste from spirit of urine³ by making it aromatic; Dury thought Stirk meant "something of civet," but was not sure.

In 1653 Boyle told Hartlib that Stirk had a great store of his laudanum and that it, his *Ens Veneris*⁴ and *Ens Haimatinum*⁵ were excellent medicines. The *Ens Veneris* would not cure chronic diseases,⁶ but was excellent for other diseases, such as agues, fevers, headaches and French pox, and was a medicine for the poor, because enough to serve a hundred poor people could be prepared for five shillings.

Besides trying the transmutation of metals, searching for the Liquor

¹ On 2 August 1648 Stirk asked the younger Winthrop to lend him Helmont's *De Febribus*; *Winthrop Papers*, v. 241-242.

² For this cf. Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 122, 129.

³ See Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 130-131, for Boyle's views on its use as a medicine for pleurisy, coughs and other "distempers."

⁴ Stirk claimed (*Starkey's Pill*, 6) that, so far as was known, he was the first person to make this medicine in England, which he did in 1652 for Boyle, "who hath wrote of its excellency, as his extant Treatise thereof can testify." He adds that it "is yellow as the purest gold and approaches the element of the fire of Venus," and that it is much superior to a preparation that he made in 1651 for Boyle, who commended it. Boyle does not seem to have devoted a treatise to it, but refers to it as "cheap enough to be fit for the use of the poor" and as "flores colchotharis," and says that he and "an industrious chymist" [Stirk] known to Pyrophilus [Richard Jones, later Viscount Ranelagh], whom he is addressing, looking at that tract of Helmont's which he calls Butler, tried whether a medicine, somewhat approaching to that he (Helmont) made in imitation of Butler's stone, might not be easily made out of calcined vitriol, and found this medicine, of which he then describes the preparation and virtues (Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 135-136). Stirk mentions Helmont's *Ens Veneris* and his "Tractate entituled Butler" in *Pyrotechny*, 157. Cf. Birch, *op. cit.*, II. 215-219, where Boyle describes how he and Stirk first found the medicine, its preparation, dose, use for fevers, etc.; and v. 590, for its effect in a *febris petechialis*.

⁵ Boyle discusses the making and medicinal virtues of spirit of blood; Birch, *op. cit.*, IV. especially 617 and 637-745 (really 645).

⁶ Stirk described its preparation and eulogized it as a "sovereign remedy for most (not to say all) diseases" in his *Pyrotechny*, 32-33; cf. Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 612-613.

Alcahest and making medicines, Stirk made experiments in other directions too. Early in 1651 Hartlib recorded that Stirk had made an experiment to preserve, by way of decoction, the scent, color and shape of plants or flowers. In his letter of 30 May 1651, Stirk informed Moriaen that he had a secret process of fermentation for making aromatic oils, oils of roses, and rosewood oil, far more in quantity and much better in quality than the ordinary ones, and that he would make them if they could be sold well.

Stirk went to St. James's Palace to distil oils himself, possibly soon after his arrival in England. He was certainly doing so in March 1652, but illness, apparently in April of that year, stopped the work and Stirk had to leave St. James's.⁷

Later, probably in 1652, Hartlib also recorded the information from Clodius that Stirk had imparted the recipe for oil of Benjevin⁸ to "Mr. Smith the globe-maker near the Glasshouse at Ratcliffe."⁹ Apparently about the same time Worsley told Hartlib that he had got from a friend at Rome the "rarest" recipe for making essences and *aqua Angelor[um]*¹ or *aqua Romana*, which had "the most delicate, soft and spirituous reviving smel" that he had ever smelled, and far exceeded anything that Stirk had ever made; but he confessed that it was to be used only on choice and delicate flowers, such as jasmine, roses, citron and orange flowers, Stirk's method with woods, gums and spices still remaining the best. About the middle of 1653 Clodius told Hartlib that Stirk had two ways of making oil of roses, the second, and "more compendious" of which ways Clodius had written down for Hartlib; and in the middle of 1655 he told Hartlib that three or four drops, taken inwardly, of the oil of roses, as Stirk made it, was "a very fine gentle purge."

Hartlib also recorded, probably in 1652, that Stirk's experiment for making ice "in the hottest room or summer" would be worth much in Italy, where the cardinals are accustomed to bring to table pieces of ice

⁷ Dury, who had embarked at London on a ship for Sweden by 24 March 1652, wrote to Hartlib on 14 May of that year asking whether Stirk had set to work on his oils and with what success, and also enquiring what sale the oil had had which Stirk was preparing when Dury left London. Apparently the venture did not succeed, for Stirk lamented to Robert Child his misfortune in removing to St. James's to distil oils.

⁸ Benjamin.

⁹ So I interpret Hartlib's bad writing. His meaning is not clear. Ratcliffe was a suburb of London outside the city wall towards the east. There was a Glasshouse, which appears to have been an inn, in Broad Street; but that was within the city wall.

¹ Angel water.

with which to cool their drinks; the procuring of the ice costs them much pains, care and expense, which would be saved if Stirk's method were used.

Stirk thought it possible to make diamonds and jewels artificially by means of the "Elixir," meaning perhaps the Alcahest; but a man from the East showed him the secret of making them from "a certain sea-sand,"² and in 1653 Stirk intended to try the experiment, which he imparted to Moriaen,³ who in turn passed it on to Clodius. Stirk believed that by this art diamonds and jewels might be made in all countries and become so plentiful that "the pride of jewels [would be] made contemptible."

He also commended highly in 1655 to Boyle a way, which had been practised with great success, to double or quadruple a certain amount of saltpetre. It consisted of putting layer upon layer of "good fat earth," each layer being sprinkled with a certain proportion of saltpetre, letting it stand in a barrel for four months, and then emptying all the urine of the house upon it from time to time for four more months, by the end of which time much of it would have been converted into good, pure saltpetre.⁴

Towards the end of 1652 Stirk told Hartlib that he (Stirk) could make himself rich and retire, if he wished to retire, by making cochineal out of the roots and leaves of the prickly pear which grows in abundance in the Bermudas. Hartlib's comment on this idea in his record is pointed and characteristic: "Ergo let him discover it to the publick seeing hee doth not retire." Stirk could, however, have answered that comment in this way from his *Pyrotechny*:⁵ "So that unless a Man have Lands to live of (and such as have, are rarely Favourers, or Followers of Philosophy) he must provide himself of some lucriferous Experiments, in the mean while, to defray charges, and help him to live, or else his Philosophy will go near to be starved itself, and to starve the Philosopher."

² Hartlib gives this information after quoting, as a parallel and confirmation, the following passage about diamonds from Fontana, *De Microscopio*, 150: "Arena specillo supposita non arenam videmus, sed praestantissimos Smaragdus et Rubinos: insuper cernuntur Porphyritides Achates et innumerae gemmae." Francesco Fontana's (1580-1656) *Novae coelestium et terrestrium Rerum Observationes, specillis a se inventis, et ad summam perfectionem perductis editae* (Naples, 1646), has a treatise on the microscope.

³ Hartlib's record states also that (Jean Baptista) Coen had imparted to Moriaen as "a very rare secret" the way to make white and yellow diamonds.

⁴ Clodius, who had this information from Boyle and passed it on to Hartlib, was to give the method a trial.

⁵ Page 79.

Hartlib's papers also contain a good deal of miscellaneous information about Stirk. Near the end of 1652 he recorded that Stirk had become acquainted with Lord Dover,⁶ "a great chymist," very well acquainted with Butler, who should have married a kinswoman of his. Early in 1653 Stirk engaged someone⁷ to make wine out of corn. In 1653 he gave Hartlib a piece of cloth made from "talk,"⁸ out of which the best and most lasting of lampwicks might be made.⁹ In the same year Mr. More¹ got from Boyle Stirk's Balsam of Vegetables, Clodius informed Hartlib that Stirk had just invented an excellent kind of iron retort which saves half the time and charges for making, and Stirk himself told Hartlib that treble fermentation, which made beer and ale as clear as rock water, was becoming common in brewing. Hartlib recorded in 1655, after 17 September, the news from Clodius that Stirk had gone to Bristol "to assist the work of refining there" and to practise medicine; and in 1656, on the 2nd or 3rd of July, Stirk himself, who had come to London to get a patent for an invention "for a continual blast [? furnace] etc.," told Hartlib that he had found near Bristol a mine of ore like antimony, yet not it, but very like silver, from which all kinds of plate might be made, "which shall shew as fair as any silver"; also a mine of talc, "very fair," of which he did not know the use, except that it was good to be given for bleeding. Early in 1651 Boyle told Hartlib that Stirk was "about to refute" Vaughan² and also to translate a chemical book from Latin into English.³

Mention has already been made, in connection with Stirk's experiments on the transmutation of metals, of a *filius Hermetis* in New England, from whom Stirk got his hints and some of the "stone" for the transmutation, and of the confession of the anonymous adept in New England, presumably the same person, that *he* had got his hints for the same purpose from reading certain papers of one John White, whom Hartlib took to be called

⁶ Henry Carey, first Earl, died 1666. On 28 February 1653/1654 Hartlib wrote Boyle about Stirk (Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 80): "I hear there are secret transactions between him and my Lord Dover; but I am afraid they will all vanish into smoke."

⁷ Hartlib thought it was Mr. Webbe [perhaps Joseph Webbe].

⁸ Talc.

⁹ Hartlib comments: "But it's objected that the oile will foul them for all that."

¹ Henry More may be meant; or John Moore, Mrs. Dury's second son by her first husband.

² Presumably Thomas. Four works by him were published in 1650: *Anthroposophia Theomagia*, *Anima Magica Abscondita*, *Magia Adamica*, and *The Man-Mouse taken in a Trap* (Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 195-196).

³ This may have been his own *Liquor Alkahest*, of which he wrote a Latin version (cf. *Pyrotechny*, 35), but which was published in English.

the Gilder of Norwich. The following are other references, found among Hartlib's papers, to this mysterious personage.

In 1651 Hartlib recorded, just after the foregoing note about John White, that Stirk was to set down the whole story of the adept in New England, with all the matters of fact about the old woman getting new teeth and hair, and about new life in the peach tree that had been withered for eight years,⁴ and that Stirk had been advised since⁵ by the adept that he had "lighted on 60.⁶ that had the Lapis." A chemical manuscript of this adept is mentioned as early as 1653, and even earlier, if an entry in the *Ephemerides* were written in 1652, as seems to me likely, to the effect that the manuscript seemed somewhat obscure to John Pell, but that Clodius, if Stirk would "open" but one passage to him, would find all the rest absolutely clear. In May 1653 Clodius told Hartlib that Alexander von Suchten's books, diligently read with this manuscript, unfold clearly the whole philosophical mystery;⁷ adding, a few days later, that the manuscript of Ripley to King Edward⁸ should be read with the two other sources for the clear unfolding of the mystery of the philosopher's stone. Early in 1655 Clodius told Hartlib that the whole *secunda operatio* for the great work was wholly wanting in the manuscripts,⁹ so that Schlezer¹ rightly complained of a hiatus in those writings. Early in 1657 Clodius told Hartlib that von Suchten's Elucidation book, or a commentary on him, which Hauprecht² had, contained most of the secrets of which Stirk bragged, and deserved to be translated. On 18 March 1658, Kretschmar³ told Hartlib that the *materia Lapid[is]*, which was truly expressed somewhere in the manuscript of Stirk's New England adept, had been most satisfactorily revealed to him (Kretschmar) that day; and later that year

⁴ Apparently as the result of the use of some such medicine as the Liquor Alcahest, or some substitute for it. Cf. *Pyrotechny*, 150, for the renewing of hair, teeth, and also skin.

⁵ Since coming to England, presumably.

⁶ So the manuscript.

⁷ Of the philosopher's stone, no doubt.

⁸ Presumably the Epistle to King Edward IV.

⁹ Called this time "the Indian manuscripts of Stirk"; yet the marginal note has "Ms. chym. Stirk."

¹ Johann Friedrich Schlezer, who came to England in 1655 as the agent of the Elector of Brandenburg.

² J. F. Hartprecht, concerning whom see my article, "Peter Stahl, The First Public Teacher of Chemistry at Oxford," *Annals of Science*, vol. 9, no. 3 (September 1953), 267, n. 14.

³ Frederick Kretschmar, a physician, who was in London from 1657 to 1658 seeking financial help for twenty exiled Protestant families driven out of Bohemia.

Hauprecht told Hartlib that the manuscript of Stirk's New England adept was the *Introitus* [*Apertus*] *ad occlusum Regis Palat[ium]*,⁴ which reveals the philosopher's stone more clearly than any other.⁵ Early in 1659 Hartlib recorded that the adept of Clodius judged the last part of "Stirks or the American Ms." to be truly genuine, the processes there being very truly set down and revealed, but the other parts to be "altogether sophisticated and full of cheats."⁶

We have already seen that Stirk's friend Astell wrote of Stirk, for want of conveniences, "being hurried from place to place." Some of his places of lodging are known. When Hartlib met him for the first time on 11 December 1650, Stirk had hired a house "for the present" in Hosier Lane. In 1651, between 19 January and 12 February, Child told Hartlib that Stirk was "now lodged with Mr. Webbe"; this seems to suggest a change of place. He was at St. James's Palace in 1652,⁷ was living "obscurely"⁸ at Rotherhithe in February 1654, went to Bristol in 1655 and seems, from Hartlib's *Ephemerides*, to have been still there in 1656. In 1658, apparently in the summer, he wrote from his "chamber at the White Swan in Foster Lane."⁹ His address on 18 June 1660¹ was St. Thomas Apostles in London, where his wife, Susanna, died on 21 February 1662,² and he was still there in 1664,³ "next door to Black-Lyon-Court"; but on 9 December of that year his address was "Bartholomew Lane, second door below the Excise Office."⁴ On 21 June 1665, the year in which he died, he was at "Broad Street, second dwelling-house from Winchester-street."⁵

Stirk was ill in 1652, certainly by mid-April, as appears from Dury's letter to Hartlib of 29 May, answering one from Hartlib about Stirk's

⁴ For this and other manuscripts which Stirk said he got from the person to whom they were given by the author see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 475-476, and Kittredge II. 134-136.

⁵ Writing, presumably.

⁶ The reference is perhaps to the *Introitus Apertus*.

⁷ As mentioned above (p. 000), he was there in March 1652; it was perhaps when Dury returned from Sweden in July 1652 that he had to leave.

⁸ As Hartlib put it in a letter to Boyle of the 28th of that month; Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 80.

⁹ *Pyrotechny*, 172.

¹ *Royal and other innocent bloud*, 43.

² *The Dignity*, Introduction, p. xviii, n. 7.

³ When he wrote *The admirable efficacy*; cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404.

⁴ *A smart scourge*, 8.

⁵ *Epistolar Discourse*, 63.

condition, written six weeks before. The news of God's "hand of sickness" upon Stirk did "much affect and afflict" Dury. In an earlier letter, of 2 April 1652, Dury had expressed wonder that Stirk had followed Boyle's⁶ advice and taken out the windows of his room, "seeing the open roome must needs admit of all changes of aire, and so make the heat of his furnace variable and impossible to be constant at one tenure." This suggests for the illness a possible reason which is supported, and amplified, by a letter from Robert Child to Hartlib of 2 February 1652/1653, in which Child says: "I am very sorry to hear of Mr. Stirkes indisposition. I cannot easily believe that any in England are so malicious as to poyson any, but I suppose his infirmity hath proceeded partly by the London aire which will not easily agree with those that have bin educated in a purer, and partly by his chymicall experiments; for I, whilst I was at London, oftentimes tould him, that he would ruine himselfe by using charcoale in places without chimneys,⁷ as also by the preparations of mercuriall and antimonious medicines."

Stirk was in prison for debt in 1654, for how many weeks Hartlib knew not,⁸ but was delivered from it for "the second time."⁹ He seems to have

⁶ Stirk was introduced to Boyle by Child, a mutual friend (*Pyrotechny*, Epistle Dedicatory). This must have been between about 29 November 1650, by which date Stirk had arrived in England, and 16 January 1651, by which time Stirk had prescribed a medicine for Boyle. Boyle must have undertaken to help Stirk, or employ him, because Dury, who had asked Boyle, through Hartlib, on 2 April 1652, to persuade Stirk to set upon his lucriferous experiments and not "to make haste at an adventure upon the great worke," writing to Hartlib on 14 May of that year, says: "I would also know, what realitie he [Boyle] hath performed towards Mr. Stirk."

⁷ Cf. the advice Stirk himself gave, no doubt with his own case in mind, in his *Marrow of Alchemy*, Second Part (1655), 22:

"Nor let thy room be so, wherein thy heat
Thou keep'st immortal, that the fumes arising
From coals no vent may finde, for thou maist get
(As some have done, hereof less care devising)
Therby much harm, which late thou will repent,
Hazarding life by their most hurtful scent."

⁸ Letter from Hartlib to Boyle, 28 February 1653/1654; Birch, *op. cit.*, vi. 79. Hartlib writes (*ibid.*, 80, 81) of Stirk's "ungrateful obstinacy" and of him as being "altogether degenerated," as having always concealed "his rotten condition," as having deceived Mr. Webbe and had no communication with Clodius since Boyle went to Ireland, and as not keeping his promise to write "diligently" to Boyle. The English doctor (Kittredge II. 136) says of his coming to know Stirk after the latter had used up all his "tincture": "Then, at my expense, and that of certain friends of mine, we discovered the emptiness of his words." Kittredge himself (II. 146) refers to Stirk's "teeming brain and not too scrupulous conscience." The last entry in Hartlib's *Ephemerides* of direct information from Stirk was made between 3 and 25 September 1653.

⁹ Presumably in that year.

been in prison again, or at least in confinement,¹ for at least ten months in 1658;² a confinement which, he says, he accepted patiently because it gave him the time for experiments which his medical practice had scarcely afforded when he was at liberty.³ It is also said⁴ that he was in prison in London for his debts when he died in 1665.

Stirk died in London of the plague in 1665,⁵ in consequence, it is said, of having made a post-mortem examination of a victim of that disease.⁶

Some information may be gathered about his personal qualities from the sources available. Leader told Hartlib in 1650, before Stirk arrived in England, that the latter was "very laborious studious and experimental," and Child confirmed that opinion early in 1651 by telling Hartlib that Stirk was "of an extreame laborious disposition." Stirk said⁷ that, in

¹ *Pyrotechny* (1658), 161-164 and 168-169. Stirk says through the malice of Dr. William Currer, who "perverted my Attorney, produced an unconscionable hell-faced Fellow (with a Bushel-wide Conscience) to swear against me, and prevaricate against the Truth, by which Oath I was considerably and unrighteously damned." Currer, he adds, was a former acquaintance who had, since his persecution of Stirk, lost his medical and moral reputation, much to Stirk's grief, for Currer had been a man of wit, a scholar, an able physician and an acute chemist.

² Which may have begun in 1657, for John Beale, in a letter to Hartlib of 3 November of that year, refers to Stirk's "distresse." He adds: "I . . . did expect that his foule language would beget strong adversaries." This gives a clue perhaps to Stirk's "confinement," for he had attacked the Galenical doctors severely in his *Natures Explication* (1657; Epistle to the Reader signed by Stirk on 20 November 1656). It must be noted, however, that in that work (Epistle Dedicatory) Currer is one of the doctors specifically mentioned as "chymically given," and therefore exempt from Stirk's attack. Stirk may, therefore, have been in error in attributing his "confinement" to the malice of Currer. It was early in 1651, before going to Ireland, that Child told Hartlib about Currer, who was then apparently in England, and either he or Hartlib may have brought Stirk and Currer acquainted with one another. Early in 1653 Child described Currer to Hartlib as "real and honest to his freind[s] and a very good chymist," and added, "I know not a better companion in that kind for Stirk than he is."

³ We do not know when this "confinement" ended, but it may not have been over by 8 December 1657, when Hartlib told Boyle (Birch, *op. cit.*, vi. 97) he had got an answer to Beale's "demands about insects," which were intended for Stirk, from another "good hand."

⁴ Quoted by Kittredge (II. 136) from an English doctor's account of Stirk, written not later than 1677. There is no other evidence, so far as I know, to confirm this statement, and the accounts of his death, to be mentioned later, do not seem to bear it out.

⁵ The *D.N.B.* says 1666, and so does Astell, Stirk's friend, in the Preface to his edition (1675) of *Liquor Alchahest*; but this date is unlikely, in view of the definite statement by George Thomson (referred to in n. 114) and of the sharp fall in deaths from plague after September 1665.

⁶ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 403, 449; three accounts of his death are given there, 404.

⁷ *Pyrotechny*, 93.

order to win such secrets as that of the Liquor Alcahest, "Night after night must be spent . . . so I have done, and still continue to do"; and in 1664, in regard to his chemical studies, he affirmed:⁸ "this is the one and twentieth year therein, during which few have exceeded me in pains, and unwearied industry." Elsewhere he called himself⁹ "an indefatigable prosecutor of experiments," "taking nothing upon any mans trust so as to build anything on it, or to draw any conclusion from it." Mention has already been made of the opinion of Stirk which Dury wrote to Moriaen in May 1651; in his letters to Hartlib of 1652 he writes that Stirk "seemes to make haste and doth things oft times at an adventure," but that "he hath been faithful hitherto to us in his aimes"; he promises to help Stirk when he returns from Sweden to England and adds: "I know it is an inward grief unto his spirit, that he is not in a capacitie to do what hee faine would." In his letters to Hartlib from Ireland in 1652 Child several times sent his love to Stirk, and in February 1653 he wrote asking Dury and Hartlib to give Stirk some good counsel, "for I look on him as a bird who is flown into the world before fully feathered,¹ or as a good vessell with much saile and little ballast; he wants as yet the ballast of yeares and experience of the world." In April 1653 he told Hartlib that, if Stirk "hath bin unkind to you, yet continue your accustomed love and goodnes to him, and advise him for the best; he hath I question not excellent things in him if it please God to give him likewise wisdom to use them." Hartlib, in spite of his strictures on Stirk in his letter to Boyle of 28 February 1653/1654, nevertheless adds charitably there:² "When God hath brought you over again [from Ireland to England], we shall leave him altogether to your test, to try whether yet any good metal be left in him or not." The English doctor already mentioned said³ of Stirk a few years after his death: "He has been the cause of many evils by means of his deceptions"; but Stirk's friend Astell, writing about the same time, said this of him,⁴ "It was his misfortune to justifie Truth in an Age when Chymistry had few friends that durst appear to justifie her. . . . Had he not met with many Crosses and Troubles,⁵ doubtless his discoveries had been greater; and had not he been cut off by that raging Pestilence, 1666,

⁸ *A smart scourge*, 6-7.

⁹ *Natures Explication*, 37-38.

¹ Stirk says of himself (*Marrow of Alchemy* [1654]; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 475): "being unwilling myself to fly to writing before my wings be fledged with more experience."

² Birch, *op. cit.*, VI. 80.

³ Kittredge II. 136.

⁴ In the Preface to his edition of the *Liquor Alcahest* (1675).

⁵ Cf. Stirk's own account (n. 4, page 218) of the treatment he had met with in his attempts to "do good to an ungrateful generation."

when he was just rising out of those Clouds which eclipsed his worth, it would quickly have appeared to the World, notwithstanding the Malice of his Enemies, that he was a true follower of Nature . . . a man whose writings spoke him more to the world than his Person or Discourse; whose moral failings I dare no more justifie, but he was a Man, and as such, the best of us are subject to erre.”⁶ His attacks on the Galenical doctors may have been due in part to their attitude to him,⁷ partly to their contempt for the application of chemistry to medicine and for Paracelsus and Helmont, whom he respected and valued; and we have seen how fair he tried to be towards Currer, whom he regarded as maliciously inclined towards him and as the cause of his being in “confinement.”

Certainly from the time that he came to England, if not before, Stirk put about the story that in New England, whence he had come, he had been given some of the powder or tincture for making gold (the white elixir), some sophic mercury, and some unpublished manuscripts on chemistry, by a friend, who in turn had them from an adept called Eirenaeus Philalethes. The manuscripts were *Ars Metallorum Metamorphoseos*, *Introitus Apertus ad oclusum Regis Palatium*, and *Brevis Manuductio ad Rubinum Coelestem*.⁸ Stirk obtained copies of them from his friend, “with much adoe,” but no commission to show them to anybody. The friend, Stirk goes on to say, who had been an eyewitness of the “great secret” (of the Philosopher’s stone), lost nearly all the powder he had been given by the adept in his attempts to “multiply” it, but succeeded in preparing the “Philosophers Mercury” (for making silver); he told Stirk that he was unwilling to write about his experiments, although so far successful, until he had made the red tincture, which he was under a solemn vow to the adept not to undertake himself, nor to teach to others, for a certain number of years. At last, however, Stirk persuaded his friend to write two treatises; one, in seven books, called *The Marrow of Alchemy*, and another, in Latin, entitled *Breve Manuductorium ad Campum Sophiae*.⁹

⁶ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 403, says that Stirk seems to have been kindly judged by George Thomson and Jean le Pelletier, as well as by Astell.

⁷ He says (*Natures Explication*, 327): “The Doctors say of me that I am a mountebank and want method.” He himself calls that treatise “somewhat tart against the abuses of the Galenists” (*Pyrotechny*, Epistle Dedicatory).

⁸ The number was given as twelve by an English doctor; Kittredge II. 135–136. Besides those given in the text, four others are named: *Fons Chymicae Philosophiae*, *Brevis via ad vitam longam*, *Elenchus errorum in arte chymica deviantium*, and *Brevis Manuductio ad Campum Sophiae*.

⁹ “Which concerns chiefly Paracelsus Liquor Alchahest.” It is given as *Brevis Manuductio* by Kittredge II. 136.

Ultimately he got his friend's permission to communicate the manuscripts to some friends, and they were so much sought after that Stirk "could never keep them at home"; so that finally, "by much entreaty," he prevailed with his friend to allow him to publish them, if he wished.

Before meeting this friend, Stirk says, he had for many years been "one of Geber's Cooks, roasting my thrift in vain," but the friend demonstrated Stirk's previous errors and set him in the right path, so that he soon obtained the philosopher's mercury and by it "the first whitenesse" (i.e., silver from metal); but the friend would not, because of his vow, instruct Stirk in the making of the "rednesse" (gold); indeed, not only would he not help Stirk over his difficulties, which were due to what Stirk called errors "in Imbibition, Cibation and Fermentation," but he even put Stirk out, i.e., misled him; not, Stirk thought, out of envy, but out of scruple for his vow.¹

The account drawn from Hartlib's papers, and set out above in connection with the transmutation of metals and with the mysterious adept in New England, tells the same kind of story, though with differences in details. It will be noted that there Stirk says of himself, what he had said of his friend, that after many unsuccessful attempts and losing most of the stone, he had discovered the way to make philosopher's mercury. Also Hartlib's record of 1659 identifies "the American Ms.," which is obviously one of those supposed to have been given to Stirk by his friend, with Stirk's manuscript; and it may be that the reference is to the *Introitus Apertus*, of which the last part is judged to be truly genuine and the processes in it "very truly set down and discovered," whereas the other parts are considered to be "altogether sophisticated and full of cheats." Moreover, the *Marrow of Alchemy*, in which he gives the story outlined above, was written by Stirk himself, so that what is said there of Stirk's friend, the author, is said of Stirk himself.²

Then again, Stirk's letter to Moriaen of 30 May 1651 ends thus: "A Philalethâ Philopono Hermeticae Scholae Chemiatrâ indignissimo . . . Georgio Stirkio"; this suggests the identification of Stirk with Eirenaeus Philoponus Philalethes. This would agree with the statement of the English doctor³ that "Philaletha Anonymus," who composed the various

¹ The account so far given is based on what Stirk wrote in the preface, "To the Reader," to the *Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part (1654). Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 475.

² Kittredge II. 134.

³ Kittredge II. 135-136; but the doctor erred in stating that Stirk, when he was 23 years old, received the tincture or white elixir in America from Child, and probably

tracts on chemistry, "was really George Starkey." Finally, Stirk himself is said to have added the pseudonym "Eirenaeus Philoponus Philalethes" to his own signature, George Starkey, on two occasions;⁴ and this is conclusive evidence for the identification of Eirenaeus Philalethes with Stirk.

APPENDIX

List of works written by Stirk
and of others possibly written by him

A. Works written by Stirk, and published

1. *Natures Explication and Helmont's Vindication, or a Short and sure way to a long and sound Life: Being a necessary and full apology for Chymical medicaments, and a vindication of their excellency against those unworthy reproaches cast on the Art and its Professors (such as were Paracelsus, and Helmont) by Galenists, usually called Methodists . . . By George Starkey, a Philosopher made by the fire. . . . London 1657. Ferguson, op. cit., II. 403, 404. Wing, D., Continuation of a Short-Title Catalogue, Item 5280. The British Museum copy has a correction, by Thomason, of the date to 1656 and the addition of "Jan. 16."*
2. *Pyrotechny Asserted and Illustrated, to be the surest and safest Means for Art's Triumph over Nature's Infirmities. Being a full and free Discovery of the Medicinal Mysteries studiously concealed by all Artists, and only discoverable by Fire. With an Appendix concerning the Nature, Preparation, and Vertue of several Specifick Medicaments, which are Noble and Succedaneous to the Great Arcana. By George Starkey, who is a Philosopher by Fire, London . . . 1658. Ferguson, op. cit., II. 401. Wing, 5284.*

Stirk seems to have planned (*Natures Explication*, 296) two treatises, one to be entitled "The Art of Pyrotechny opened and discovered," the other to be called "Truth Asserted and Maintained or a Chymicall and Philosophicall resolution of certain questions sent me by one veyling himself under the name of Philalethes Zeteticus"; but the two seem to have been

erred in stating that he also got from Child the titles of twelve tracts (on chemistry) that he composed. This doctor has not yet been identified; he says that he made Stirk's acquaintance the year after Stirk got the tincture from Child (i.e., when Stirk was 24, and therefore in 1652), but did not come to know Stirk well until the latter had used up all he had of the tincture.

⁴ Kittredge II. 134, n. 4, says at the end of poems published in John Heydon's *Idea of the Law* (1660), and his *Theomagia* (1664). Professor Kittredge (*ibid.*, 146) hoped to prove, when time served, that "Eirenaeus Philalethes was the creation of George Stirk's teeming brain . . . and the works ascribed to him, so far as they ever existed, were of Stirk's own composition." Unfortunately, time did not serve, and Professor Kittredge never wrote his promised account of Stirk.

merged in this one work, the second being apparently contained in 158–172, “The Conclusion of this Treatise: Being, An Answer to a Friend’s Letter, containing some important Queries etc,” where (page 159) he alludes to the friend as “an ingenious and discreet Zetetic.”

It is clear from the Epistle Dedicatory and page 139 that Stirk regarded *Natures Explication* as the first part of this work.

3. *George Starkey’s Pill vindicated from the unlearned Alchymist and all other pretenders—With a brief account of other excellent specifick Remedies of Extraordinary virtue, for the honour and vindication of pyrotechny.* No place [? London]. No date [1660?]. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 403. Wing, 5283.

A refutation of Mathew’s claim to have discovered the pill, viz., Richard Mathew, *The Unlearned Alchymist His Antidote: Or, A more full and ample Explanation of the Use, Virtue and Benefit of my Pill, Entituled, An effectual* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Diaphoretick,} \\ \text{Diuretick,} \end{array} \right\}$ *purgeth by* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sweating.} \\ \text{Urine.} \end{array} \right\}$. . . London, 1662.

There was a previous edition of 1660. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 82.

4. *Royal and other innocent bloud crying to Heaven for vengeance . . . By George Starkey. . . . London, 1660.* Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404. Wing, 5287.
5. *A smart scourge for a silly sawcy Fool, being an Answer to a letter, at the end of a Pamphlet of Lionell Lockyer . . . By G.S.M.D. and Philosopher by the Fire.* Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404, says 1664. Wing, 5289, says 1665. It is signed (page 8) by George Starkey, 9 December 1664.
6. *A brief Censure and Examination of several Medicines of late years extolled for universal Remedies. By George Starkey . . . London, 1664.* Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404. Wing, 5272.
7. *An Epistolar Discourse to the Learned and Deserving Author of Galenopale. By George Starkey, M.D. . . . 1665.*
Comes after page 31 in *πλανο-πνιγμος*, or a Gag for Johnson that published *Animadversions upon Galenopale*, and a Scourge for that pitifull Fellow Mr. Galen, that Dictated to him a Scurrilous Greek Title. By Geo. Thomson, Doctor of Physick. London, 1665. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404, gives separately “Letter to George Thomson, Lond. 1665,” which is probably the same work, though 8°, not 4°.
8. *Liquor Alchahest, or a discourse of that immortal Dissolvent of Paracelsus and Helmont.* Published by J. A[stell] . . . 1675. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 404. Wing, 5277.
9. *The Admirable Efficacy . . . of Oyl which is made of Sulphur-vive, set on fire, and called commonly Oyl of Sulphur per Campanam . . . Faithfully*

collected out of the writings . . . of J. B. Van-Helmont. 1683. British Museum Copy.

Is No. 8 in *Collectanea Chemica*, "A Collection of Ten several Treatises in Chymistry . . . London," Printed for William Cooper . . . 1684.

Is No. 3 in *Collectanea Chemica* . . . (London, 1893), where the title is given as: *The admirable efficacy and almost incredible virtue of True Oil which is made of sulphur vive set on fire and commonly called Oil of Sulphur per campanam. By George Starkey.* Because in it (page 52) Starkey refers to "A Brief Examination and Censure" as being ready for the press and about to "see the light" in a few days, this work must have been published not later than 1664.

B. *Works written by Stirck, but not published*

10. *A Congest of Methodical Arguments.* Written, in an attempt to show how gold could be made potable, apparently while he was at Harvard. *Natures Explication*, 36.
11. *Organum Novum Philosophiae.* Written against Aristotle, after No. 10 and apparently while he was still at Harvard. *Natures Explication*, 37.
12. *Pyrotechny Triumphant.* Astell, in the preface to his edition of Stirck's *Liquor Alchahest* (1675), said that he intended to publish this work, "which the Author, had he lived, intended to do, which will be an Explanation of his Pyrotechny Asserted, and Explication of the History of Nature, comprehended in those subjects." In his *Pyrotechny* (1658) Stirck mentions what seems to be this work in four places, viz.: page 148, "in my next part of *Pyrotechny*, which shall be, *Its Victory and Triumph*, in which I shall discover ten most secret Mysteries, of which the first shall concern the Mysteries of the *Microcosm* . . ."; page 149, "the extraction of which [Sulphur from any Mineral, or soft Metal] I shall candidly and clearly teach in that my *Triumph of Pyrotechny*, for its Conquest and Victory over all its clamorous and railing Adversaries"; page 156, "I shall reserve that ["the Alcoolization of Alcalies"] to that part of my *Pyrotechny triumphing*, which treats of the Mysteries of the Microcosm"; and page 171, "concerning the use of which [more generally useful Medicaments] I shall give in writing brief and full Directions, Epitomizing as it were my next Tractate of *Pyrotechny Triumphing*, and sending it forth in single sheets; and as nobler Medicaments may be made in quantities, I shall do the like by them, which you may confidently expect, God willing, this summer."
13. A Treatise . . . concerning the Liquor [Alchahest] in Latin; which, according to Stirck, *Pyrotechny*, 35, "was chiefly written, while my tryals were in the very working, and which I purpose shall e're long see the light." See No. 8 and No. 19, one of which may be an English version.

14. *De Mysteriis Alcalium*. Mentioned in *Pyrotechny*, 81, as "a . . . Tractate . . . which I purpose shortly shall see the light."
15. *The Method and Mystery of curing Diseases*. Mentioned in *Pyrotechny*, 106, as "my Treatise . . . which I intend very shortly to publish." On page 109 of *Pyrotechny* Stirk says that he will handle a particular subject in a "Treatise of the *Method and Mystery of Medicine*," which may be the same work.

C. *Works attributed to others, which may have been written by Stirk*

16. *The Marrow of Alchemy*. By Eirenaeus Philoponos Philalethes. First Part, London, 1654; second part, London, 1655. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 474, who gives evidence, which seems conclusive, that Stirk was really the author. Wing, 5278, 5279.
17. *The Dignity of Kingship asserted: in answer to Mr. Milton's Readie and Easie Way to establish a free Commonwealth . . . by G.S. . . . London . . . 1660*. In his edition for the Facsimile Text Society (No. 54, 1942) W. R. Parker argues for Stirk being the author, and not George Searle, or Gilbert Sheldon. He also (Introduction, vii-viii) gives the new title of the re-issue of 1661: "Monarchy Triumphant over Traiterous Republicans. . ."
18. *Britains Triumph for Her Imparallel'd Deliverance*. By G.S. 1660. Parker (*op. cit.*, xii) also attributes this work to Stirk.
19. *Arcanum, or Secret of the Immortal Liquor Alkahest, called Ignis-Aqua*. By Eirenaeus Philaletha. Is No. 1 in *Collectanea Chemica* (London, 1684), and No. 1 in *Collectanea Chemica* (London, 1893). Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I. 169, who says (II. 191) it is *not* the same as No. 8 above. Wing, 5287A.
20. *Brevis Manuductio ad Rubinum Coelestem*. By Eirenaeus Philaletha. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 191; he mentions there a German treatise, *Eine kurze Anleitung*, etc., which seems to be the same work, and (II. 192) an English version. Cf. Kittredge II. 136. Wing, 5290.
21. *Fons Chymicae Philosophiae*. By Eirenaeus Philaletha. Published by Birrius in 1668. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 191; he mentions there a German treatise, *Brunn der Chemischen Wissenschaft*, which may be a translation, on 192 an English version, and on 193 (under *Ripley Reviv'd*) a chapter belonging to the *Fons* which had been omitted by Birrius. Wing, 5290.
22. *Fons chymicae Veritatis*. By Eirenaeus Philaletha. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 191.
23. *Ars Metallorum Metamorphoseos*. By Eirenaeus Philaletha. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 475. Mentioned by Stirk in the *Marrow of Alchemy*, Second Part, An Advertisement to the Reader. Ferguson elsewhere (II. 192) calls it *De*

Metallorum Metamorphosi, and records a German and an English version. Wing, 5290.

24. *Introitus Apertus ad occlusum Regis Palatium: Autore Anonymo Philaletha Philosopho . . . publicatus, Curante Joanne Langio. Amstelodami . . . 1667.* Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 192, who also mentions there the English edition, 1669, by William Cooper (*Secrets Reveald: or, an Open Entrance to the Shut-Palace of the King*. Cf. Wing, 5288), which is *not* a retranslation of Lange's edition. Ferguson also gives (II. 192-193) what appears to be a French translation, and a French "explication" of it. Cf. Kittredge II. 135.
25. *Ripley Reviv'd: or, an Exposition upon Sir George Ripley's Hermetico-Poetical works. . . . Written by Eirenaeus Philalethes . . . London, Printed . . . for William Cooper . . . 1678.* According to Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 193, it contains: An exposition upon Ripley's Epistle to King Edward IV [Wing, 5274]; an exposition upon Ripley's Preface [Wing, 5275]; an exposition upon Ripley's First six Gates of the Compound of Alchymie; Experiments for the preparation of the Sophic Mercury [which may be the same as No. 6 in *Collectanea Chemica* (1893), and as *Expériences sur l'opération du mercure philosophique*, which is mentioned by Ferguson, *op. et loc. cit.*]; *A Breviary of Alchemy* [Wing, 5271]; An exposition upon Ripley's vision [Wing, 5276]. Wing, 5286. Among the works written by the adept, Eirenaeus Philalethes, which Stirk mentions (*Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader) were "a large Comment on Ripley his twelve gates, and the Epistle to King Edward"; the latter seems to be the work published in *Ripley Reviv'd*, but the former (which does not seem to be mentioned by Ferguson) is apparently not the "exposition on the first six gates" contained in *Ripley Reviv'd*.
26. *Opus Elixeris Aurifici et Argentifici.* Mentioned by Stirk (*Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader) as written by Eirenaeus Philaletha.
27. *Brevis via ad vitam longam.* Mentioned by Stirk (*Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader) as written by Eirenaeus Philaletha. Cf. Kittredge II. 136. Wing, 5290A, gives *Via ad vitam*, 1661, which may be the same work. The work may also be related to No. 1 above, which has, as an alternative title, "a short and sure way to a long and sound life." On the other hand, in the Second Part of the *Marrow of Alchemy*, 1655 (An Advertisement to the Reader) Stirk says that a treatise by the "friend" who wrote the *Marrow*, entitled "Alchemy Triumphant, or a short way to a long life," would "ere long see the light."
28. *A Commentary on Arnolds Ultimium Testamentum.* Mentioned by Stirk (*Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader) as written by Eirenaeus Philaletha. Arnaldus de Villanova may be meant; but, although

his works include a Testamentum, a Testamentum Novum and a Testamentum Novissimum, there is no mention (in Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I. 46) of a Testamentum Ultimum.

29. *Cabala Sapientium, or An Exposition of the Hieroglyphicks of the Magi.* Mentioned by Stirk (*Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader) as written by Eirenaeus Philaletha.
30. *Elenchus errorum in Arte Chemica deviantium.* Mentioned by Stirk (*Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader) as written by the "friend," who had also written the *Marrow of Alchemy* (No. 16 above). In the Second Part of the *Marrow of Alchemy*, 1655 (An Advertisement to the Reader) Stirk says this work "will ere long see the light." Cf. Kittredge II. 136.
31. *Enarratio Methodica Trium Gebri Medicinarum, in quibus continetur Lapidis Philosophici Vera Confectio, Autore Anonymo sub nomine Æyrenaei Philalethes, natu Angli, habitatione Cosmopolitae. Amstelodami, Apud Danielelem Elsevirium, 1678.* Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 191. Cf. Wing, 5281, *Opus tripartitum*, 1678, which may be the same work, though in 5273 he gives *Enarratio Methodica*, 1678. Ferguson (II. 191) says it contains (on page 189): *Vade-Mecum Philosophicum sive Breve Manuductorium ad Campum Sophiae . . . Auctore Agricola Rhomaeo, horum Arcanorum vere adepto*; and he quotes evidence (II. 265) that Rhomaeus was Starkey. In the *Marrow of Alchemy*, First Part, address To the Reader, Stirk says he persuaded his "friend," who had written the *Marrow*, to write a treatise "in Latine, entituled, Breve Manuductorium ad Campum Sophiae, which concerns chiefly Paracelsus liquor Alcahest." Cf. Kittredge II. 136, where it is given as *Brevis manuductio ad campum Sophiae*.
32. *Principes pour la Conduite de l'Oeuvre hermétique.* Ferguson, *op. cit.*, II. 193.
33. *Philadelphia, or brotherly love*, 1694. Wing, 5282 (under George Starkey).

April Meeting, 1949

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 April 1949, at a quarter before nine o'clock in the evening, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The President reported the death on 4 March 1949 of JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL, a Corresponding Member.

The President, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from EDWARD ELY CURTIS accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. JOHN OTIS BREW of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member and Mr. MARK BORTMAN of Newton was elected an Associate Member of the Society.

The President reported the recommendation of the Council for the adoption of new By-Laws and stated that printed copies were to be sent to all members.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ELLIOTT PERKINS and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Mr. FREDERICK SCOULLER ALLIS, Jr., read a paper entitled "The Bingham-Baring Lands," in which he presented material that has since appeared in Volumes 36 and 37 of the Society's *Publications*.

Mr. ERNEST S. DODGE presented by title the following paper:

A Seventeenth-Century Pennacook Quilled Pouch

MOST of the exceptionally early and important examples of New England material culture, other than archaeological artifacts, are well known to students of the area, and have been published. It is only rarely, nowadays, that a specimen turns up that is so old and so remarkable that it deserves a paper to itself. Such a one has recently appeared.

This antique, a small quill bag or pouch, was in a collection acquired a few years ago by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, with the estate at Indian Hill, West Newbury.¹ This property had been the home of the Poore family for nearly two hundred and fifty years before it was given to the Society.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The quill bag first attracted the attention of Dr. Frank G. Speck when he visited the Poore house at Indian Hill. At that time it was in a little frame screwed to the wall of a small back entry. Also inside the frame was a label, handprinted in faded ink on orange cardboard, which label reads:

PURSE
Made on Indian Hill
and given to John Poore
1650

After negotiating with Mr. William Sumner Appleton of the S. P. N. E. A. the pouch, with certain other ethnological specimens, was deposited with the Peabody Museum of Salem. I removed it from the frame and found inside another, much earlier, label. This label is written in black ink on heavy white paper. The condition of the paper and the character of the handwriting indicates considerable age—how much, is the question. The text of this second label reads:

This purse was manufactured by the Indians and purchased of them by my

¹ Since this paper was written, the property at Indian Hill has been returned to the family, and is now owned by Mr. Edward S. Moseley. He has deposited the pouch, together with other ethnological material, in the Peabody Museum of Salem.

Grandfather who paid them with articles valued at one dollar. The hide the purse is made of was dressed by them & the quills worked in are said to be those of the Porcupine—Benjamin Poore.

On seeing such a label one's first reaction is that the problem is easily resolved. All that is necessary is to run back the Poore family line to Benjamin and thence to his grandfather. Alas, there is an imp that plagues the wishful thinker. The Poore family was prolific as well as ancient, and the tribe of Benjamin was a considerable portion thereof. Persistent genealogical research, however, narrowed the problem of identification of the label signer down to one of two Benjamins.

Before discussing the possibilities of these two candidates, let us return for a moment to the last male Poore to dwell at Indian Hill and to the first label quoted. Ben:Perley Poore was born in 1820 and died 30 May 1887. He was a descendant of Samuel Poore who settled in Newbury in 1638. This Samuel was the first Poore owner of Indian Hill where he built a house about 1650. From him the direct line to Ben:Perley runs: Samuel, born 1653, died 1727; Samuel, born 1673, died 1759; Benjamin, born 1723, died 1817; Dr. Daniel Noyes Poore, born 1758, died 1837; Daniel's son, Col. Benjamin, born in 1797 and lost in the China Sea in 1853, was Ben:Perley's father.² The early Benjamin in this line is one possibility. However, Ben:Perley was also descended, through other families, from John Poore, brother of the first Samuel, who settled on the Parker River in 1635 and in 1650 was granted some land in the vicinity of Indian Hill. In one of the histories of Essex County, under the biographical sketch of Ben:Perley, it is stated that "In 1650 John Poore purchased Indian Hill and the land surrounding it from the Indians."³ This is not true as the circumstances are described in other works. Samuel, the immigrant, bought the land.⁴

It is my belief that at one time Ben:Perley thought that John was the man from whom the Poore name descended to him, and that the statement given above was true. In his later life he was an active member of the Poor-Poore Family Association and encouraged the writing and publishing of the Poore genealogies. At that time he must have known the correct history of Indian Hill. It is a pity that his own manuscript on the his-

² *The Poor-Poore Family Reunion at Haverhill, September 14, 1887*, 84-91.

³ *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, Hamilton Hurd, Compiler (Philadelphia, 1888), II. 1873.

⁴ John J. Currier, "*Ould Newbury*": *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Boston, 1896), 347-356.

tory of the Poore family, together with the original Indian deed to Indian Hill, were destroyed in Washington after his death.⁵

Ben:Perley was a widely travelled, wealthy newspaperman and a great collector. The curios of all sorts which embellish the walls of the rambling house at Indian Hill were mostly placed there at his direction or by his own hand. It seems reasonable to suppose that he wrote the first label quoted from memory and family tradition, assuming that the Benjamin who signed the old label was the grandson of John.

Now to return to the problem of solving the identity of the Benjamin who wrote and signed the second label. As just mentioned, from the statement on the first label it might be supposed that John's grandson, Benjamin, was the author. It may be, but unfortunately the signature on the label in no way resembles the signature of this Benjamin reproduced from his will.

To be sure the signature on his will was written in extreme old age and would no doubt be different from his writing earlier in life. The difference, in my opinion, however, is too great even for this possibility and the two, to my mind, must be ascribed to different men.

The Benjamin (1723-1817), the great-grandson of the first, is next considered. A trip to the Courthouse in Salem brought to light a will signed by him. The writing more nearly resembles that on the label, but here again was the age problem. Judging by the date, the document was signed by a very old, sick man but a few hours, I believe, before his death. If the label was written by him, as seems a distinct possibility at present, and granting the truth of the information on the label, the pouch was collected by Samuel (1653-1727), son of the immigrant.

This would date it about twenty-five to forty years later than the first label states; but, nevertheless, still a very early piece, probably made in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Currier's *History of Newbury* states that Indians were still living in the vicinity of Indian Hill in 1681 so the pouch could have readily been collected by the Samuel to whom the evidence points.

As the extent of the Pennacook Confederacy has been worked out by Johnson, it is safe to assume that these Indians were politically associated with the Pennacook and the pouch is representative of their material culture.⁶

⁵ Sidney Perley, *The Indian Land Titles of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1912), 41.

⁶ Frederick Johnson, "The Indians of New Hampshire," *Appalachia*, No. 89 (June, 1940), 3-15.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

This well preserved little pouch, made of dark tanned deerskin ornamented with porcupine quills, is a delight to the eye of any admirer of aboriginal art. The lower part of the bag is flat and made of two pieces of leather, 8.5 cm. square, sewed together along either side and the bottom. This is the part of the bag that is highly decorated. To the upper edge of the bottom section there are sewn two more flexible pieces of similar leather. These are sewn together along either side and deepen the bag about 6 cm. All seam sewing is apparently done with sinew.

Approximately 4 mm. from the upper edge there are, on both sides, six slashes each about 12 mm. long. Through these holes run two drawstrings. The drawstrings enter from opposite sides, circle the bag, and are lashed to themselves some 2.5 cm. from the edges of the bag. Beyond the lashing the ends extend about 14 cm. These ends, two on either side, are wrapped with quills for about 8 cm. of their length. On each side of the pouch, at the junction of the side seams and the seams between the upper and lower parts, there are attached two leather thongs wrapped with quills. Along the bottom edge of the bag there are a dozen dangles spaced about 5 mm. apart. These are apparently of some kind of cord, whether native or trade I could not determine, wrapped with quills for the distance of 1 cm. The ends of all the dangles, as well as the quill-wrapped drawstrings and decorative thongs, all terminate in tin cones each holding a bunch of hair. Two distinct kinds of hair were used. One kind is rather soft and brown, probably deerhair; the other is stiff and grayish and may be pig or horsehair, and looks as though it was once dyed blue. The two varieties of hair are paired on the ends of the drawstrings and decorative thongs so that each pair of strings has a bunch of hair of each kind.

The final, and perhaps the most striking, structural feature of this bag are two tabs of leather shaped like beaver tails, 6.7 cm. and 7 cm. long respectively and 2.5 cm. wide, sewed to the top at the seam on each side. Each tab is perforated with seven lozenge-shaped holes. The center hole, which is 5 x 10 mm., is flanked by three smaller holes above and below which average 4 x 5 cm. These tabs serve no obvious utilitarian purpose and, together with the thongs and drawstrings, must be considered ornamental. They do, nevertheless, indicate a significance which will be discussed later.



*Seventeenth century Indian pouch in the Peabody Museum of Salem.
Side showing designs similar to those on wampum belts.*



*Seventeenth century Indian pouch in the Peabody Museum of Salem.
Side showing linear decoration and simplified double curve.*



DECORATION

The quill wrapping on the drawstrings, decorative thongs, and dangles, has already been mentioned. The quills of this wrapping are white, orange, black, and light blue and are applied with a technique not figured or described in Orchard.⁷ It is difficult to discover, however, exactly the technique used without unwrapping a section, which I am reluctant to do.

Along each seam of the lower part of the pouch is a row of rather squarish white porcelain beads which average about 2 mm. in length. These are the only beads on the specimen.

The principal decoration on each face of the lower section of the bag consists of the quill work. These quills also are colored black, orange, light blue, and white. Undoubtedly all the colors showing, and there may have been others, are faded and mellowed by time.

All of the quills are attached to the leather by one of two techniques. Most of the quills are flattened and put on by stitching them through the leather and folding them back on themselves and stitching again. This gives a series of triangles so that the technique superficially resembles the rather common method of folding back and forth over two pieces of sinew thread described by Orchard.⁸ Most of the quills attached by this means are in rows about 2 mm. wide but for filling in a few places the width increases to 6 mm. The other technique used is the method described by Orchard wherein the quills are twisted and sewn through the leather between each twist.⁹ This technique produces a fine hair-like line and is used for borders.

The designs on this specimen are of especial interest to the student of aboriginal art in northeastern North America. One face of the bag is outlined with a border of quill work which bulges slightly toward the middle of each side. Within the border two wide bands extend diagonally from corner to corner across the bag forming a large St. Andrews Cross. The figures within the bands are geometrical and are somewhat reminiscent of some to be found in wampum belts. On opposite sides of each arm of the cross are hook figures bent back towards the corners. These figures are commonly found, either singly or in pairs, in Iroquois and early Chippewa art, and very commonly in the Wabanaki area.

⁷ William C. Orchard, "The Technique of Porcupine Quill Decoration Among the North American Indians," *Contribution From The Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation*, IV (New York, 1916), No. 1.

⁸ *Id.*, 14-18.

⁹ *Id.*, 41-42, Fig. 45.

The other face of the bag is covered with parallel rows of straight, wavy, zigzag, and curved lines so familiar in the bead and quill work from the Iroquois east and north as far as Indians live; and most recently used by the Naskapi in their painted work on caribou skin. Beginning at each outside edge the borders are identical and meet in the middle with two rows of double curves.

The presence of this true double curve is particularly significant as, so far as I know, this is its earliest ethnological representation. The double-curve on the pouch is in its most simple and unelaborated form. It corresponds exactly to the simplest form illustrated by Speck in "The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art."¹ In the same work identical forms are shown in examples from the Malecite² and the Micmac.³ Specimens of Naskapi material examined also show this simple form occurring frequently. Most of the Penobscot and Micmac double-curve designs are featured by more complex treatment, but in *Penobscot Man*⁴ Speck shows a Penobscot pouch decorated with quite similar elemental double-curves in moosehair embroidery. Barbeau has conclusively shown the relationship between the elaborate double-curve designs and French leather and embroidery patterns,⁵ but as French influence on the lower Merrimac, in the last half of the seventeenth century, was probably slight, the presence of the double-curve motif on this bag lends some weight to the evidence which indicates that the motif in its most simple form may possibly be an indigenous aboriginal origin as Speck argued for many years.⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion this pouch, in general form and decorative embellishment, is surprisingly similar to comparable bags made about two hundred years later by other tribes to the north and east of the Merrimac. The Penobscot bag figured by Speck and mentioned previously is very similar in form as well as decoration. A Micmac pouch in the Peabody Museum of Salem

¹ Frank G. Speck, "The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art," *Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoirs*, XLII. Fig. 2.

² *Id.*, Fig. 10.

³ *Id.*, Fig. 11.

⁴ Frank G. Speck, *Penobscot Man* (Philadelphia, 1940), 129, Fig. 51.

⁵ Marius Barbeau, "The Native Races of Canada," *Transactions of The Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, XXI, Sec. II (1927).

⁶ Frank G. Speck, "The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art," *passim*, p. 17. "Indian Art Handicraft of Eastern Canada," *School Arts*, XLIII (April, 1944), 266-270.

is in the same tradition; and Montagnais and Naskapi pouches are even closer in form. There is an almost identical bag in the Museum of the American Indian, attributed by Skinner to the Iroquois.⁷ This Iroquois bag is much larger than our Pennacook specimen, lacks the four groups of thongs at the sides, but has the beaver tail shaped ornaments and also is decorated with the same type of opaque white glass beads, metal jinglers, and dyed deer hair. One of the most striking features of similarity with the Naskapi is the presence of the four groups of decorative thongs. These are attached to some of the pouches as well as the beaded neck charms worn by the Indian hunters of Labrador. In his *Naskapi* Speck devotes several pages to the symbolism and magical significance of this form.⁸ The attachments symbolize the legs of animals and the entire pouch or charm is a representation of the animal form to insure good luck in hunting. This same feature of symbolical legs is found among both the Penobscot and Micmac but with no explanation, so far as I know, as to the reason for such attachments. On the basis of the presence of the thongs one could also speculate interestingly on the purpose of the beaver tail shaped ornaments, but there is not sufficient evidence from other tribes to justify doing so.

The interesting fact brought out by this specimen is that it is so typical of, and shows strong association with, the nomadic hunters of the Northeast rather than with the agricultural peoples of southern New England. The discovery of this pouch also encourages us to seek further in our old houses for early Indian material which has managed to survive the handling of a dozen generations, the avariciousness of insects, and that unhappy New England virtue—the spring house cleaning.

⁷ Alanson Skinner, "An Antique Tobacco-pouch of the Iroquois," *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 11 (New York, 1919-1920), 107-108.

⁸ Frank G. Speck, *Naskapi* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1935), 227-230.

Annual Meeting

November, 1949

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Monday, 21 November 1949, at a quarter after six o'clock in the evening, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the minutes of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

Mr. FRANCIS WHITING HATCH, of Wayland, and Mr. LUCIUS JAMES KNOWLES, of Boston, were elected Resident Members of the Society.

The Treasurer reported the terms of the will of the late ALBERT MATTHEWS, a Resident Member of the Society for fifty years and its Editor for twenty-seven, and the Society voted to accept the bequest mentioned in the will.

The Treasurer submitted his annual report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1949.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 14 NOVEMBER 1949

ASSETS

Cash:

Income	\$14,826.48	
Loan to Principal	<u>13,294.06</u>	\$1,532.42

Investments at Book Value:

Bonds (Market value \$155,768.69)	\$155,830.62	
Stocks (Market Value \$112,509.38)	96,849.96	
Savings Bank Deposit	<u>3,376.43</u>	\$256,057.01
TOTAL ASSETS		<u><u>\$236,597.52</u></u>

FUNDS

Funds	\$236,597.52
Unexpended Income	20,991.91
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>\$257,589.43</u>

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, 14 November 1948	\$11,857.50
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RECEIPTS:

Interest	\$5,048.15	
Dividends	5,915.85	
Income on Albert Matthews Fund	1,244.01	
Annual Assessments	810.00	
Sales of Publications	140.50	
Contributions	40.00	
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		<u>\$13,198.51</u>
		\$25,056.01

DISBURSEMENTS:

New England Quarterly	\$3,000.00	
Editor's Salary	1,500.00	
Secretarial Expenses	900.00	
Annual Dinner	616.70	
Copies of <i>Forty Acres, the Story of the Bishop</i> <i>Huntington House</i>	513.00	
Storage Charges	415.72	
Publications	226.30	
Portrait of Francis Parkman	200.00	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	123.00	
General Expenses	116.90	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	98.66	
Binding Books	74.00	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	417.46	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Prin- cipal	1,489.33	
Interest on Albert Matthews Fund added to Prin- cipal	389.46	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		<u>10,229.53</u>
BALANCE OF INCOME, 14 NOVEMBER 1949		<u>\$14,826.48</u>

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended 14 November 1949, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

WILLARD G. COGSWELL

ARTHUR S. PIER

Auditing Committee

The Treasurer's report was accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Vice-Presidents HON. ROBERT WALCOTT

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

Member of the Council for Three Years ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

The Treasurer moved the adoption of the new Suggested By-Laws, which had been unanimously approved by the Council, and of which a printed copy had been sent to each member with a statement indicating his status under the proposed provisions. The Suggested By-Laws abolished all ancestral qualifications for membership, set a zone for Resident Membership, created a new class of Non-Resident Members, abolished Associate Membership, this class being merged into the others, and made certain changes in Corresponding Membership. After an extended debate, in which the opposition was vigorously led by Messrs. Stephen Willard Phillips and James Duncan Phillips, a ballot

was had, in which thirty-six voted in favor of the motion and thirteen against. The President therefore declared the motion lost, since the affirmative vote was less than the three-quarters of all the members present at the meeting, as required by the existing By-Laws.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Messrs. Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Arthur Stanton Burnham, Wendell Stanwood Hadlock, William Henry Harrison, Harold A. Larrabee, William Caleb Loring and David McKibbin. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

After dinner the Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Report of the Council

THE year has been uneventful. The usual stated meetings, in addition to the annual meeting and dinner, have been held—those in December and February at the Club of Odd Volumes and in April at the home of our President as his happy guests.

Seven new members have been chosen since our last report, three at the last annual meeting.

Resident:

EDWARD ELY CURTIS
RAYMOND SANGER WILKINS
WALDRON PHOENIX BELKNAP, Jr.
HENRY HORNBLOWER, II
JOHN OTIS BREW

Associate:

MARK BORTMAN

Corresponding:

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

Death has taken six men during the past year, three Resident Members, one Associate Member, and two Corresponding Members, and we learned belatedly of the loss of a Corresponding Member in the year before. They were all ripe in years and had been long on our rolls.

ALLSTON BURR, Resident, 1932, died 18 January 1949 in his eighty-

fourth year. Investment banker, Overseer of Harvard and a generous donor. He gave his time and his delightful humor to the task of reviewing our finances.

SAMUEL CHESTER CLOUGH, Resident, 1913, died 1 September 1949, aged seventy-six. After being a draftsman for the Boston Edison Company for thirty-six years, he retired not tired, for he then served the nation four years in the drafting division of the Charlestown Navy Yard. He was much interested in Boston genealogy and history, contributing several papers illustrated with his own maps showing early ownership of real estate in the town.

GEORGE FREDERICK ROBINSON, Resident, 1933, died 19 May 1949 at the age of eighty-eight. Historian and beautifier of Watertown.

ELDON REVARE JAMES, Associate, 1938, died 2 January 1949, aged seventy-three. Lawyer, law teacher, law librarian at Cincinnati and Harvard Law Schools and then at the Library of Congress, adviser to the King of Siam and Justice of the Supreme Court of Siam. He was devoted to legal history as an officer of the Ames Foundation, and his spadework on the Pynchon Diary will eventually bear fruit in its publication.

WILLIAM LOGAN RODMAN GIFFORD, Corresponding, 1906, died 22 June 1948 in his eighty-eighth year; only two men chosen earlier still survive. Librarian in the public libraries of New Bedford and Cambridge until 1904, and then of the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.

MARCUS WILSON JERNEGAN, Corresponding, 1926, died 19 February 1949 in his seventy-seventh year. Teacher of American history at the University of Chicago for thirty years and author of important books on colonial America.

JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL, Corresponding, 1929, died 4 March 1949 in his eightieth year. Psychologist, teacher at the University of Chicago, and then like his father university president, guiding Yale for sixteen years, and yet a friend of Harvard, lightening the solemnity of the Harvard Tercentenary by his kindly wit.

The report was accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

Mr. ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION, Gardiner Professor of Oceanic History and Affairs, Harvard University, then addressed the Society and its guests.

December Meeting, 1949

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 22 December 1949, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

At the request of the President, Mr. WHITEHILL read a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Congress of Historians of Mexico and the United States at Monterey, Nuevo León, Mexico, on the occasion of the presentation of an oil portrait of Francis Parkman, copied at the expense of the Society from an original owned by the St. Botolph Club in Boston.

The President reported the death on 14 December 1949 of WALDRON PHOENIX BELKNAP, Jr., a Resident Member.

The Recording Secretary, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of letters from Mr. FRANCIS WHITING HATCH, of Wayland, and Mr. LUCIUS JAMES KNOWLES, of Boston, accepting Resident Membership, and from Mr. WENDELL STANWOOD HADLOCK, of Rockland, Maine, accepting Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Reverend PALFREY PERKINS read a paper entitled:

Fund Raising in the 1750's

IT sometimes seems today as if everybody were engaged in fund raising. It is a business by and of itself like banking or manufacturing or retailing or exporting. Schools and colleges and hospitals and health campaigns and community chests and religious organizations without number are busy raising funds. Every one of us here has his involvements on either the asking or the giving end. Books are written about fund raising. It has its own vocabulary: the "approach," the "prospect," the "follow-up," "special gifts," "donors," etc. Its techniques are varied and intricate. It has a basic philosophy. Statisticians, sociologists, and economists are constantly examining and analyzing the process and the problems it faces in the present moment of history. In all its elaborate ramifications, it

is a phenomenon of the modern age. But in its simple essentials it has always gone on. People have been fund raising more or less since the world began. So it went on in Boston in the 1750's. And it seemed to me that we might get some amusement, as well as information, by looking back two hundred years at the activities of a comparatively small number of people in Boston whose project was the rebuilding of the King's Chapel, "the building to be of Stone and to cost £25,000 in Bills of Credit of the old Tenor." The eventual result was the present King's Chapel, a noble and beautiful sanctuary which, though never actually completed according to the plans of Peter Harrison, was beautified and finished for use at a cost of £7405 sterling.

The first requirement in fund raising is an impressive list of names—a distinguished sponsorship. This was not lacking in the King's Chapel project. At a meeting on 21 October 1740, "... This Vestry requested the favour of Wm. Shirley Esq. one of our Wardens to draw up the preamble to a subscription paper wh is to be presented to such well-disposed persons as are willing to contribute towards rebuilding ye King's Chapel . . . wch Mr. Shirley undertook and is to be laid before ye Vestry at their next meeting." Wm. Shirley, born in England in 1693, had come to this country in 1734 and was practicing law in Boston. By the time he got the subscription under way early in 1741 he had been elevated, after the removal of Belcher, to the office of governor—an office which he filled with distinction for fifteen years lively with the stirring events of the French and Indian wars. A contemporary wrote of him, "I must do him the Justice to say I think him a good Governor. And altho his not being of the same profession in Religion with the Body of this People may (be) attended with Inconvenience yet I am not apprehensive that he will ever use his Power to oppress us on that or any other account." The fact is that throughout his career he was staunchly and even vigorously devoted to his church. So in this matter of the subscription paper he promptly associated with himself other men of importance whose names would carry weight. One of these was Henry Frankland, Esq., later to become Sir Harry and a figure of romantic legend, at this time Collector of the Port of Boston. Another was Peter Faneuil, Esq., even then building his gift to the town of a public market-place and hall. He was a vestryman of Trinity but took a kindly and generous interest in the mother church. Shirley headed the list with a subscription of £100 sterling. Frankland followed with £50 sterling. Among the eleven other names of importance on the list was that of Charles Apthorp who, when he died, was called by Reverend Jonathan Mayhew "a merchant of the first rank on the continent." His subscrip-

tion was £200 of the old tenor. None of this money was paid in. It was, as modern fund raisers would say, "in pledges." First payments were to be made when £10,000 had been subscribed, but that amount was not fully subscribed and, as the old record in the King's Chapel archives puts it, "a Neglect to prosecute the affair with suitable Vigour, the Death of the Treasurer, which soon after followed and from whose Abilities considerable expectations had been found, put a Damp upon the good Design and occasioned its being laid aside for some Time." Other fund raisers through the years have known this experience of a "Damp upon the good Design"!

Noting the death of Peter Faneuil, it may be worth while following up the long and litigious sequel. For when the subscription was opened some years later under the energetic leadership of a real "go-getter" in the person of Henry Caner, who became Rector in 1747 and of whom much more later, it appeared that Benjamin Faneuil, Peter's brother and executor, had no intention of fulfilling his brother's pledge. He was

handsomely asked for his brother's subscription to whom he was Executor but he refused to pay it, however the Church Wardens were desired to wait upon him once more w^h they did and before witness demanded his first Payment and left a Coppy of their Demand in Writing. As he absolutely refused Payment the committee after previous consultation of Gentⁿ learned in the Law commenced suit against him in the Name of the Wardens for recovery of his said Brothers subscription.

For nearly four years this vexatious contest went on in the courts until on 30 May 1751, "The Judges of the Superior Court gave Judgment in Favour of King's Chapel . . . and therein established the right of the Church Wardens to sue for the Church's Dues. . . Three of the Judges viz: Saltonstall, Lines and Cushing gave for the Chapel Mr. Sewall only dissented." Two weeks later on a Thursday when the church wardens waited on Mr. Faneuil to know whether he would settle the matter forthwith "without further dispute in the Law," he asked them to wait till the following Monday so that he might consult his lawyers. And on the Monday Mr. Boutineau, Faneuil's lawyer, waited on Charles Apthorp, Treasurer to the Committee, and "engaged to pay the Whole Money demanded without further dispute." In the final supplementary list of subscribers after the fund raising was finished, this sum of £186 12s 14d wrung by due process of law out of an unwilling executor is euphemistically if inaccurately set down as "Benj. Faneuil's *donation*"!

This digression has brought us several years ahead of our fund-raising story. We must return to 1747 when a new personality came into the picture, a man whose energy and vigor infused the whole project with new

life. This was Henry Caner who was inducted Rector in April, 1747, and within six months had taken on—over and above his duties as pastor and preacher—the enthusiastic work of fund raising.

He is worth looking at with some deliberation, for he spent twenty-eight years at King's Chapel, and his loyalty to Church and King brought his gray hairs in sorrow to flight with the King's troops, and his very character to despise among the patriot population of Boston. And yet it was largely his energy and taste, and practical ability as a fund raiser, that made possible and actual the noble edifice which still to this day ought to perpetuate his memory. Born in England, Henry Caner came to this country as a boy. His father built the first college and rector's house at New Haven, and he himself graduated from Yale College in 1724. This means that he must have shared in all the excitement over Timothy Cutler's defection to the Church of England which so startled the Church of New England. And it means, too, that he must have been, so to speak, on Cutler's side and therefore have looked askance on Jonathan Edwards who, as first tutor, practically ran Yale College for two years, after Cutler's departure to become the first Rector of Christ Church in Boston. At any rate, young Caner went to study theology at Stratford, Connecticut, with the Reverend Samuel Johnson who had been his college tutor. Too young to be ordained, he assisted Johnson as catechist and schoolmaster in the neighboring town of Fairfield. Of him his preceptor wrote to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, "Mr. Caner takes a great deal of pains to very good purpose and will I don't doubt prove a very worthy man." In 1727 he set out for England to take his holy orders and returned at once as Missionary of the honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel to Fairfield, where he remained for twenty-two laborious years, and then was deservedly promoted to the most conspicuous Episcopal Church in America. In June, 1747, three months after Mr. Caner's induction at King's Chapel, Governor Shirley wrote to the Society in England, "I can't omit expressing my own and the general Satisfaction of the congregation of the King's Chapel in ye Ministry of Mr. Caner I promise myself" that it will "not only be for the advantage and edification of that particular congregation but promote the general welfare of the church within this metropolis of New England." Henry Caner found the little wooden church—built in 1688—much out of repair, indeed in a ruinous condition, and he almost immediately picked up the fund-raising project "laid aside for some time" and set about it with extraordinary zeal and energy.

Of his parishioners, "some were of Opinion that rebuilding was now

quite necessary as the Chapel was now much more gone to Decay; that it would be Throwing Money away to attempt to repair it. Others objected it would be better to tarry till a Peace, as the War had raised the Price of Materialls and rendered building very expensive." But the builders won the day and so "Mr. Caner, Mr. Apthorp and Dr. Gibbins made two private lists of subscriptions which they supposed the People might be able and would be willing to comply with."

The project proceeded with energy and speed, for the first meeting at Dr. Caner's house was on 30 September 1747. At that meeting "out of Regard to the Honour of God and the more decent Provision for his Publick Worship" seven men set their names to a subscription paper in the amount of £428 sterling and £1400 old tenor. A short five months later the subscription amounted to £20,265 old tenor. Quite in the fashion of modern campaigns for funds, all through that period a meeting was held every Thursday evening "at a Publick House, in order to concert measures for advancing the Design and for addressing"—"approaching" would be the word today!—"Gentlemen of Interest and Ability abroad. . . At this weekly meeting it was proposed that every well wisher to the Affair should be desired to be present." How much time Henry Caner habitually spent in sermon preparation I do not know, but he must certainly have made some inroads upon it by the composition of the long and handsomely elaborate letters sent abroad to well-disposed persons. They combine pertinent facts and direct solicitation with elegant flattery laid on thick. William Vassall, for example, then living in Jamaica, was asked to use his good offices to awaken "The Generosity of the Gentlemen of the West Indies Islands"—and Mr. Caner added "It is a singular Pleasure to us that we have the Opportunity of making our present Application to those Gentlemen thro' *your* hands whose influence and Interest we are very sensible of." However the West Indies gentlemen seem to have remained untouched and untouchable. Mr. Caner had no diffidence in approaching high places. To the Lord Bishop of London he wrote, "We humbly beg leave to ask your Lordship's Opinion of the Propriety of an Application to His Majesty in Favour of a Church, the first in America, and who at the Public Charge erected a very handsome Pew for his Majesty's Governors a Church which has heretofore tasted of the Royal Bounty and if we may judge by the Name, seems in some Measure encouraged to expect it. Your Lordship's Interest and Influence would be the greatest Security of Success." How grandly the words flowed from the Rector's pen!

The Royal Navy was among the "prospects" approached. In 1747 Sir Peter Warren in H.M.S. *Devonshire* was second in command under Lord

Anderson of the fleet which destroyed a French squadron bound, as it hoped, to recapture Louisburg—and he himself captured the French Admiral de la Jonquière. Early in 1748, not unmindful of this exploit, Mr. Caner wrote to Sir Peter,

While the united Acclamations of British Subjects have agreed to celebrate the Success God has given to His Majesty's Fleets under your conduct, permitt us also at this Distance to assure you that we hear the News of your Victories with Joy, and celebrate them with Gratitude to Heaven. If the many great Affairs in which you are engaged give you Leisure to attend to the Applications of a People at this Distance, we humbly beg leave to lay before you the ruinous condition of King's Chapel in this town etc. We flattered ourselves we might take leave to recommend a thing of this Nature to you whose Abilition enable you to do that which your Prudence and Generosity dictate.

This skillful letter got £20 sterling out of Sir Peter.

Nor was the Army neglected by the assiduous fund raiser. General Paul Mascarene was Lieutenant Governor of Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, where he had been with troops for twenty years, a frontier garrison soldier but of singularly gentle disposition. To him Mr. Caner wrote, "We have thought it our Duty to acquaint you with the Proceedings of the church . . . and to beg your Assistance in carrying on the good Work. This indeed we promise our Selves from your known Virtue and Generosity but shall entirely leave it with you how far and in what Manner to recommend a Thing of this Nature to ye Officers and Gentlemⁿ of the Garrison." On the final list General Mascarene's subscription appears as "£50 *ster*," but nothing seems to have come from the officers and gentlemen of the garrison.

In the spring of 1748 the opportunity came to have a "friend at court," a solicitor on the ground in England. For Sir Henry Frankland, who was setting out for the old country, proffered his best services upon his arrival there "to collect the Donations of his friends in favour of the Chapell." Thereupon Mr. Caner, writing on behalf of the vestry, addressed him in part as follows: "'Tis with much pleasure we entertain so favorable an Opportunity of prosecuting the Interest of our New Church with our friends at home. The doing of it thro' your Hands . . . we imagine will be the best Method to convince our Friends of the Necessity of the thing and of our Inability to accomplish it without their kind Assistance . . . and will indeed give those Gentlemen some distant Notion of what we are doing." Sir Henry was not an aggressive solicitor and his efforts, if such they may be called, met with no success. "At present," he wrote, "all my Friends and Acquaintances are in the Country so nothing can be done before the

Winter." But the fund-raising committee, nothing daunted, had prepared a petition for presentation to no less a personage than His Most Gracious Majesty George the Second "praying your Majesty to take the Premises into your gracious Consideration and to favour them with your Royal Bounty." By this time there were three personal representatives on the spot in London, for Governor Shirley had gone thither on business of state, and Mr. Barlow Trecothick, who had been clerk of the fund raisers, had departed to spend the rest of his days in London and finally to become its Lord Mayor. To Mr. Trecothick's activity and his reports upon it, we owe one of the most delightful incidents of this whole affair, which I shall recount in conclusion.

But first let me just pause and review the situation. Long before anything like the necessary funds were in hand, the committee requested Peter Harrison of Newport, Rhode Island, "a gentleman of good judgment in architecture," "to oblige them with a draught of a handsome church. We do not require any great expense of ornament but chiefly aim at Symmetry and Proportion which we entirely submit to your judgment." So eager were they to get the work begun, they had a trench opened for the foundations and the cornerstone laid before they even received Peter Harrison's plan. This was in their hands in September, 1749, when they wrote him that they were well pleased and that "when it should be in their power they should make a further acknowledgment of his Favour." In the event it proved that it was never in their power to do this, so that Peter Harrison's beautiful building was literally a labor of love.

The fund raising went assiduously but not too successfully forward all through the five years that elapsed before the Chapel was opened for divine service in August, 1754. The petition to His Majesty was probably never presented. At any rate no royal bounty was vouchsafed to the cause. As one thinks of His Majesty's Court of the 1750's and the government of Sir Robert Walpole, one is hardly surprised that there was no enthusiastic response to an appeal for subscriptions to build a church on the other side of the ocean.

The account with which I shall conclude this somewhat meandering paper has to do with Barlow Trecothick's futile efforts to get a subscription from Captain Thomas Coram. Captain Coram was then a figure of real importance in London. He was the benevolent founder of the Foundling's Hospital, having made a fortune in the American plantations and in ventures at sea, but so openhanded was he that when he died in 1751, it was in greatly reduced circumstances. However, there was an early chapter of his life which linked him with King's Chapel and had its serious

bearing on his reception of the fund raiser, Mr. Trecothick. He had been living ten years in Taunton, and in 1703, when he left, he conveyed his farm lands there to the "vestrymen of the Church of England in Boston and their successors in trust that if ever hereafter the inhabitants of the town of Taunton should be more civilized than they now are, and if they should incline to have a Church of England among them . . . the vestry was authorized to convey the whole or a part as they should see good for this purpose." The vestry gave him bitter offense by its conduct, for it disregarded the trust and eventually sold the land, receiving for it during this very period of fund raising a final payment of £100, which was applied to the new building.

In spite of this forty-year-old grievance, the fund-raising committee dared to address Captain Coram in 1748 in the following terms, "considering your attachment to the Church of England and upon how many occasions you have exerted your Interest and Influence in favour of the infant churches in this country we have thought proper," etc., etc. "None have shown a greater readiness and zeal to appear in behalf of the Church's interest than yourself." This was a strangely naïve appeal to a man whose very zeal the Church itself had offended. In spite of utter silence on his part, a follow-up letter addressed him two years later with questionably subtle flattery, "knowing your constant application to works of publick charity we imagine you have been too deeply engaged in something of this kind to give Attention to our Request not doubting but at a convenient time you will permit this Affair to have place among the many Interests which fall under your prudent and effectual management." The "convenient time" never came, and when Mr. Trecothick, the one really active "person to person" solicitor in this whole fund raising, waited upon him, here is what happened, as related in Mr. Trecothick's letter to the committee.

I had almost forgot to give you an account of my Embassy to Capt. Coram. I waited on him and was very graciously received; but when I opened the Occasion of my visit he broke out into the most passionate Reproaches against the Vestry of King's Chapel for slighting the present he made them of a piece of land. I represented that his present Petitioners were to a Man another sett of people and not chargeable with the misconduct of their predecessors with whatever else I could think of to cool the Old Gentleman, but all in vain. After several attempts to soothe him, he flatly told me that *he knew it was in his Power to serve the Church very much, but that by God if the twelve Apostles were to apply to him in behalf of it he would persist in refusing to do it.*

"This," goes on Mr. Trecothick in masterly understatement, "I thot a

definitive answer and so took my leave. I have since paid him another visit [Mr. Trecothick was nothing if not persistent!] and been very courteously treated but on mentioning the church he has directly relapsed into his passion, so that you may lay aside all hope from that Quarter."

Mr. Caner was never at a loss for the appropriate word, and his next letter to Barlow Trecothick contained this comment on the profane old gentleman in London: "As to Coram, let him go. He might have served us, but in this Work 'tis best to be without Assistance from the Devil." And the work *was* finished without any satanic assistance. The loving generosity and public spirit of men and women who loved their church made possible what was in 1752 the noblest house of worship on this continent, and as their monument the Chapel stands today—a master work of simplicity, harmony, and beauty.

One final reflection: on the subscription list one finds very few names recognizable as borne by people in our community today. As against Gardner, Aphorp, Inches, Forbes, Jackson, and Prescott, e.g., there are to be found Shirley, Lechmere, Frankland, Brinley, Trecothick, Vassall, Royall, Cradock, Hutchinson, Paxton, Auchmuty, Johonnot, Featherstone, Haliburton, and a score of others unfamiliar today. The reason why is obvious. The majority of the subscribers were prosperous stately people who rolled into town on Sundays from their sumptuous countryseats. They were English gentry whose loyalty to God was second only to their loyalty to His Majesty the King. They were not likely to understand the sturdy, independent manhood which twenty years later was to beget the Revolution—itsself in part a result of this same mutual antipathy and misunderstanding. So we find in Dr. Caner's *Register of Marriages* under date 10 March 1776 the following note.

An unnatural Rebellion of the colonies against His Majesties Government obliged the Loyal Part of his subjects to evacuate their Dwellings and Substance and to take refuge in Halifax, London and elsewhere; By which means the public worship at King's Chapel became suspended and is likely to remain so till it shall please God in the Course of his Providence to change the hearts of the Rebels or give Success to his Majesties arms for suppressing the Rebellion.

So they departed with the King's men—these loyal subjects of his—to die in exile and to leave on these shores only their remembered names. How surprised Dr. Caner and these subscribers to the new church must be if they know that we this afternoon are noticing the two-hundredth anniversary of that sanctuary which their good will and generous substance raised!

Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL read a paper entitled:

The King's Chapel Library

WHEN Richard, Earl of Bellomont, Captain General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, New York and New Hampshire, arrived in New York in the spring of 1698, he brought with him a valuable collection of theological books destined for King's Chapel, Boston. This Church of England parish, established in the midst of Congregationalism only a dozen years before, had received royal donations in 1696 when the Reverend Samuel Myles, the second pastor of the church, returned from a *four-year* visit to England. "He arrived July 4th and brought with him part of the gift of Queene Mary, performed by King William after her decease, viz: the church furniture, which were a cushion and cloth for the pulpit, two cushions for the reading deske, a carpet for the allter, all of crimson damask with silke fringe, one large Bible, two large Common-prayer Books, twelve lesser Common-prayer Bookes, linen for the allter; also two surplises, alter tabell, 20 yardes fine damask."¹ In the following year a gift of communion silver was received, and in 1698 came the library, now in the possession of the Boston Athenæum.

The wardens of King's Chapel, on behalf of the congregation, acknowledged the latter gift, writing to the Bishop of London on 21 July 1698, "We have received another experience of his Lordship's care and kindness in sending us a Library, which we have received in good condition . . . for the present have lodged them in Mr. Myles his study, for the use of him, the assistant when he comes, and his or their successors, and take care that no abuse of imbecilment be made of them."²

The gift was thus described by the Reverend Henry Wilder Foote in his *Annals of King's Chapel*: "This Library, to which reference is made in the letter to Bishop Compton, 25 July 1698, as his gift, was really the gift of the King, and the covers were so stamped.

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BIBLIOTHECA
DE
BOSTON

¹ Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1882), I. 121.

² Foote, *Annals*, I. 131.

A complete catalogue of the books is preserved in the book of records. This was the only collection of books not of private ownership in New England at the time, with the single exception of the library of Harvard College, and was therefore valuable from the scarcity of books; but it had a greater value in itself, being an admirable collection of the best books for the use of a scholarly theologian of the Church of England. It contained ninety-two folios, eighteen quartos, and ninety smaller works, including Walton's great *Biblia Polyglotta*, lexicons, and commentaries, fine editions of the Church Fathers, Bodies of Divinity, works on Doctrine and Duty, the sermons of the great preachers of the English Church, historical works (among them such sound histories as Sir William Dugdal's *View of the Late Troubles*), Controversial and Philological Treatises."³

Although the Bishop of London and King William III have been given credit for this gift, the real instigator was the Reverend Thomas Bray, D.D. (1658–1730), who, soon after his appointment by the Bishop of London in 1695 as Commissary for Maryland, saw that the future of the Anglican church in the colonies depended upon an adequate supply of books for the clergy. Bray's first task was to recruit clergy for vacant parishes in Maryland. As his earliest biographer well put it: "With this view he laid before the Bishops the following consideration: that none but the poorer sort of clergy could be persuaded to leave their friends and change their native country for one so remote; that such persons could not be able sufficiently to supply themselves with books; that without such a competent provision of books, they could not answer the design of their mission; that a library would be the best encouragement to studious and sober men to undertake the service: and that as the great inducement to himself to go, would be to do the most good he could be capable of doing, he therefore proposed to their Lordships, that if they thought fit to encourage and assist him in providing parochial libraries for the Ministers that should be sent, he would then be content to accept of the Commissary's office in Maryland."⁴

From this realization developed his *Proposals for encouraging Learning and Religion in the Foreign Plantations*,⁵ and, in 1679, his *Bibliotheca Paro-*

³ Foote, *Annals*, I. 124–125.

⁴ *Publick Spirit, Illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D.D. Late Minister of St. Botolph without Aldgate* (London, 1746), 10–11. See also Samuel Clyde McCulloch, "Dr. Bray's Commissary Work in London," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., II (1945), 333–348, and the readable recent biography by H. P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954).

⁵ Lawrence C. Wroth, "Dr. Bray's 'Proposals for the Incouragement of Religion

chialis, which set forth in detail his ideal of a clerical library. By April, 1696, thanks to a donation from Princess Anne, Dr. Bray was in a position to send to Annapolis, Maryland, a library that consisted eventually of 1,095 books, costing £350.⁶ Dr. Bray's account books preserve full details of the libraries sent to various colonies, which cost a total of £1,772. The College of William and Mary received books to the value of £50.; New York £62.17s., and Boston £99.10s.⁷

The books coming to Boston were decorously and uniformly bound, with the stamping described above by Dr. Foote.⁸ Dr. Bray's punctilious care for all details of the shipment is well shown by the entries for 19 August 1697 in his account books quoted by H. P. Thompson.⁹

19 Augt. 1697	£ s d
6 Book presses with Locks Bolts and Handles for the Library sent wth. his Excellency the Earle of Bellamont at Boston in New England 10s. per press	3 0 0
4 Book presses for the Library sent to New York at 10s. per press	2 0 0
For a box for some of the Boston Books wch. the presses wd. not hold	3 0
For Paper to lay Between the Books to keep the Covers from being Raed	3 0
For Mail Cord to Cord them up	10 0
Paid the Porters for Cording and Carrying them down 3 paire of narrow winding stairs and afterwards up again to the Lodgings (my Lord Bellamont's servt. not calling for them (according to Appointment) to take ym. on Ship Board along with his Ldp's Things pand within 4 daies after downstairs again to the waterside	13 0
For a Large Boat to Carry them through the Bridge to the Ship	5 0
Gave my Ld. Bellamonts servt. to take care of ym.	2 6
Gave them a Botle of wine to drink my Ld.'s good health	2 0
For Ale to make the Porters drink	1 0
For Corbets and Fees at the Custom House	12 0
For 2 fol ^o . Paper Books bound in Vellum to Register the aforesd. Libraries and sent wth. the Libraries	5 0
For 1 paper Book fol ^o . bound in Vellum to Register the aforesd. Libraries and Delivered to the Earle of Bellamont	3 0

and Learning in the Foreign Plantations'—A Bibliographical Note," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXV (1932-1936), 518-534.

⁶ Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 17.

⁷ Thompson, *Thomas Bray*, 29.

⁸ A typical binding is reproduced in Walter Muir Whitehill, *A Boston Athenæum Miscellany* (Boston: Boston Athenæum, 1950), plate I.

⁹ *Thomas Bray*, 31-32.

The "register of books" received in Boston was published by Dr. Foote from the records of King's Chapel in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, xviii (1880-1881), 423-430. A copy, now owned by the Boston Athenæum, made in 1714 from the list in the "church book," is reproduced herewith in collotype.

In 1807 the King's Chapel Library was deposited with the Theological Library, then housed in the Vestry Room of the First Church in Chauncy Place, but in 1823 the Proprietors of the Theological Library voted that their property should be transferred from the First Church vestry to the Boston Athenæum. Consequently an agreement was signed on 31 July 1823 between Ebenezer Oliver and Joseph May, wardens, on behalf of the Proprietors of King's Chapel, and Theodore Lyman, Jr., on behalf of the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, by which the King's Chapel Library was to be deposited in the Athenæum. This provided that the ministers of the Chapel should be admitted freely as life subscribers and that the books should be properly arranged in the Athenæum in the room appropriated to theology. These agreements were published by the Reverend F. W. P. Greenwood, *A History of King's Chapel in Boston* (Boston, 1833), 161-164. For more than half a century, the King's Chapel books were shelved as part of the Athenæum's theological library, but in 1881 their value as a collection was emphasized by bringing them together in a special case, which now stands in the center of the biography room on the third floor of the Athenæum. This handsome case—a kind of "ark of the covenant" of vague seventeenth-century inspiration—is decorated with engraved portraits of King William III and his wife, Queen Mary, who had died before the library was sent to Boston. In 1911 the Proprietors of King's Chapel made a formal conveyance of the library to the Proprietors of the Boston Athenæum in exchange for a share of the Boston Athenæum for the use of the ministers of the church.

In spite of the precautions taken against "abuse and imbecilement," some volumes of the King's Chapel Library disappeared before the books were deposited in the Athenæum in 1823. The wear and tear of two centuries and a half have caused others to be rebound. The King's Chapel copy of Johannes Cassianus, *De institutis coenibiorum* (Basel, 1485) is now in an elaborately tooled nineteenth-century binding, which carries on the spine the ingenuous stamping: "PRINTED 1485 REBOUND 1826," but many of the volumes still retain the royal stamp on the binding.

The following short title catalogue, prepared by Miss Marjorie Lyle Crandall, lists the volumes from the King's Chapel Library that are today in the possession of the Boston Athenæum.

SHORT TITLE CATALOGUE OF
KING'S CHAPEL LIBRARY

Books in the original collection of 1698

[Allen, William.]

Animadversions on that part of Mr. Robert Ferguson's book. London, 1676.
(Wing A1054)

[Allen, William.]

Catholicism: or, Several enquiries. London, 1683. (Wing A1055)

[Allen, William.]

The Christians justification stated. London, 1678. (Wing A1057)

[Allen, William.]

A discourse of the nature, series, and order of occurrences. London, 1689.
(Wing A1062)

[Allen, William.]

The mystery of iniquity unfolded. London, 1675. (Wing A1066)

[Allen, William.]

Of the state of the church in future ages. London, 1684. (Wing A1067)

[Allen, William.]

A practical discourse of humility. London, 1681. (Wing A1070)

Ambrosius, *St.*

Opera. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1661. 5 v. in 2.

Athanasius, *St.*

Opera quæ reperiuntur omnia. Parisiis, 1627. 2 v.

Augustinus Aurelius, *St.*

Opera. Parisiis, 1637. 11 v. in 7.

Baker, *Sir* Richard.

A chronicle of the kings of England. 9th imp. London, 1696. (Wing B510)

Barlow, Thomas.

Several miscellaneous and weighty cases of conscience. London, 1692.
(Wing B843)

Barrow, Isaac.

The works of, v. 4. Londini, 1687. (Wing B925)

Barrow, Isaac.

A brief exposition on the creed. London, 1697. (Wing B929)

Barrow, Isaac.

A defence of the B. Trinity. London, 1697. (Wing B931)

Bates, William.

Considerations of the existence of God. 2d ed. London, 1677.

(Wing B1102)

Baxter, Richard.

Gildas Salvianus. 2d ed. London, 1657.

(Wing B1276)

Baxter, Richard.

A paraphrase on the New Testament. London, 1685.

(Wing B1338)

Bernardus *Clarævallensis*, St.

Opera omnia. Parisiis, 1621.

Bible, Whole. *Polyglot*.

Biblia sacra polyglotta . . . Bryan Walton. Londini, 1657. 6 v.

(Wing B2797)

Bible, O.T. *Psalms. Hebrew*.

Sepher Tehillim. Cantabrigiæ, 1685.

(Wing B2743)

Blount, Sir Thomas Pope.

Censura celebriorum authorum. Londini, 1690.

(Wing B3346)

Bray, Thomas.

Bibliotheca parochialis. Part I. London, 1697.

(Wing B4290)

Bray, Thomas.

A course of lectures, v. 1. 2d ed. Oxford, 1697. 2 copies. (Wing B4292A)

Bright, George.

A treatise of prayer. London, 1678.

(Wing B4677)

Bull, George.

Examen censuræ. Londini, 1676.

(Wing B5416)

Bull, George.

Judicium ecclesiæ catholicæ. Oxonii, 1694.

(Wing B5418)

Burnet, Gilbert.

The history of the Reformation. 2d ed. London, 1681.

(Wing B5798)

Burnet, Gilbert.

The history of the Reformation. 2d ed. Part two. London, 1683.

(Wing B5799)

Buxtorfius, Johannes.

Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum. Ed. 5a. Basileæ, 1645.

Buxtorfius, Johannes.

Thesaurus grammaticus linguæ sanctæ hebrææ. Ed. 3a. Basilea, 1620.

Bythner, Victorinus.

Lyra prophetica. Londini, 1679.

(Wing B6423)

Calvin, Jean.

Opera omnia theologica. Genevæ, 1617. 7 v.

Castell, Edmund.

Lexicon heplaglotton. Londini, 1669. (Wing C1224)

Cave, William.

Apostolici: or, the history. 3d ed. London, 1687. (Wing C1592)

Cave, William.

Ecclesiastici. London, 1683. (Wing C1596)

Cave, William.

Primitive Christianity. 4th ed. London, 1682. (Wing C1601)

Chamier, Daniel.

Panstratiæ catholicæ. Genevæ, 1626. 4 v.

Chemnitz, Martin.

Examinis Concilii Tridentini. Francofurti, 1574.

Chemnitz, Martin.

Harmoniæ Evangelicæ. Genevæ, 1628.

Chemnitz, Martin.

Loci theologici. Ed. nova. Witebergæ, 1610.

Comber, Thomas.

The church history clear'd. London, 1695. (Wing C5447)

Conant, John.

Sermons preach'd on several occasions. London, 1693. (Wing C5684)

Conant, John.

Sermons preach'd on several occasions. Second volume. London, 1697. (Wing C5686)

Cradock, Samuel.

The apostolical history. London, 1672. (Wing C6744)

Cradock, Samuel.

The history of the Old Testament. London, 1683. (Wing C6750)

Cyprianus, *St.*

Opera. Parisiis, 1666.

Daillé, Jean.

De usu patrum. Genevæ, 1656.

[Dodwell, Henry.]

Two letters of advice. 2d ed. London, [1680?]. (Wing D1823?)

2
A List of Books sent
with the Lord of Bellamont
towards laying y^e foundation
of a Library for the use
of the Church of England
 Clergy of Boston.

Boston N. E. 22
1714

A Register of Books lent to
His Excellency the Earl of Bellemont
towards Laying the Foundation of a
Library for the Use of the Church of
England Clergy in Boston.

I On the Scriptures

Biblia Poliglotta - - 6 Vol folio.
Castell's Lexicon - - 2 Vol folio
Robertson's Libr Psalmorum Hab 12
Bytheneus Lyra prophetica 4.^o
Buxtorp's Thesaurus - - 8.^o
Buxtorp's Lexicon - - 8.^o
Calvini Opera & Commentaria: 3 Vol. folio.
Poli Synopsis Criticorum - - 1 Vol 4.^o
Dr Lightfoot's works - - 2 Vol folio
Dr Hammond Upon the Psalms folio

On the New Testament folio

M^r Baxter on the new testament ~~fol~~ 8.^o
Thomnolij & Gerard's Harmonia Evangelica folio
Estius in Epistolas - - - folio.^o
M^r Joseph Meads works - - 1 folio.^o
M^r Edwards on the Difficult Texts 2 vol. 8.^o

II Fathers

Clementis Epistolæ & Coloniasy - 8.^o H
Ipolycarpi & Ignatij Epistolæ & Ussery Oxon 4.^o
Iustini Marturi Opera Coloniae 1686 - folio.^o
Ortaliani Opera Regaltij Par 1634 folio
Cyprian's Opera nec non
Minucij Falis
Annoty

mayor

July fiximus Maldivis

Comodiani opera omnia ex Parity Ed? Par 1666-folio

Ambrosii Opera 2 Vol par - 1661

Epiphany Opera Græc. Lat. 2 Vol. Folio 1682

Theonomy opera 3 Vol. Par 1621

Eusebii Locrator Solomonus & Græc. Lat. 3 Vol. Intra
Edit. Valery Amstelæ 1677

Athanasii Opera Græc. Lat. 2 Vol. Par 1621

Augustini opera 7 Vol. Par 1681 folio

Fulgentii Opera 8°

Gregory Opera -- Par 1621

Bernardi opera -- Par 1621

Daleis de Ufu Patrum.

Scrivonoxi Apologia pro. Ecclesia Patribus 4°

III

Discours Apologotical for the Authority
of the Scriptures and the Truth of Christianity

Protius de Veritate Christianæ. Religionis 12°

Stillingfleets trigones Sacra: 4°

Edwards on the Authority, stile and perfection of
The Holy Scriptures. -- -- 3 Vol. 8°

IIII Bodies of Divinity

Estius in Sententias

Chomrisoni Lexi Communis folio

Calvini Institutiones inter opera

Polani Sintagma folio

Turretini Compendium 4°

Philippi a Limborch Theologia Christiana folio

Le Blancs Theses Theologica folio

Vossy Theses Theologica -- 4°

Dr Hammond practical Discourses folio

Dr Scotts Christian Life and Discourses 5 Vol 8°

5: In the Concordall Doctrine
of the Covenant of Grace
First Vol.^m of Practical Lectures folio
Short Discourse on y^e Doctrine of our Baptiz^m Concordall
6: on the Creed in Concordall

Dr Jacksons works 3 Vol folio
M^r Perkins on the Creed wth his other works 3 Vol. folio
Dr Heylins Theologia Vesterum
R^p Pierson on the Creed folio
Dr Barrow on the Creed folio
On the Creed 8^o

VII on particular Articles

Dr Bates on the divine Existence 8^o
Dr Polling on the divine Existence 8^o
M^r Edwards on y^e divine Existence & providence 8^o
Dr Sherlock on providence 4^o

Charnock on providence Inter opera
On the divine Attributes folio

Dr Bulli Indicium Eubria Catholica de
Necessitate credendi Quod Dominus Noster
Jesus Christi Verus sit Deus

Dr Barrow On the Trinity Bound up with
Ashtons Collections on that Subject 8^o

R^p Hillingfooth on the Trinity 8^o
On the Satisfaction of Christ 8^o

Dr Sherlock Knowledge of Christ Jesus in 2 parts 8^o
Downham of Justification

Dr Bates Harmony of Divine Attributes.
In the great business of Mans Redemption 8.
Dr Bulls Examens Consue. 4.
Dr Sherlock on Death 8.

on Judgement 8.
Drelicourts Consolation on Death 8.

VIII In Morall Laws and Christian Duties

Truchet Elementa juris Paedagogia 12.

Sarcophagi Obligations-Consuetudo.

Dr Taylors ductor Substantium folio

Therick De Ethicis 8.

M^{rs} Perkins Cases of Conscience Inter opera.

Dr Barlowes Cases of Conscience 8.

Dr Caves primitive Christianity 8.

Summae Virtutum & Vitiatorum 8.

Dr Hopkins on the 10th Commandment 4.

Dr Taylors Holy Living and Dying 8.

Christian Monitor wth weeke Upon Death 12.

Rottonwells Measures of Christian Obedience 8.

Dr Pollings Discourse on Holiness 8.

Donndams Christian warfare folio

Dr Hornocks Happy Aesticks 8.

from Law of Considerations.
Dr Howells Design of Christianity 8.
Christian Liberty 8.

IX Of prayer and the Sacraments

Dr Hopkins on the Lords prayer.

Dr Bright Upon prayer.

Dr Combers discourses on the whole Common prayer 8.

Rottonwell on the sacrament of y^e Lords Supper 8.

Dr Hornecks Crucified Jesus 8^o

on Repentance
Dr Goodman's prodigall pardoned

X: Sermons

Bp. Regnolds folio.

Bp. Sanderson folio

Bp. Tillotsons 10 Vol. 8^o

Bp. Lightons 2 Vol. 4^o 1 Vol 8^o
prolections 4^o

Dr Barrows Sermons 3 Vol. 8^o

Dr Conants Sermons 2 Vol 8^o

Bp. Stillingfleets — 2 Vol. 8^o

Bp. Rides — — — 8^o

Doningtons discourses — 2 Vol 8^o

Halkners Remaines — 4

XI Historically

Potaviij Rationarum & Temporum 2 Vol folio

Cradocks Ch. History of the Old and new Testament

De Pius Ecclesiasticall History of the 9 first Centuries

Bp Taylors Life of Christ folio 3 Vol folio

Dr. Caues Lives of the Apostles vol.

Lives of the fathers 2
Burnetts history of the reformation 2 Vol. folio

Quick Syndicon or history of the reformed Ch. of France

Blunt Consura Authorum folio

Dr Rich. Bakers Chronicles of the Kings of England

St. Wm. Dugdals View of the late troubles folio

Varonius Geography with Sansons Maps folio

XII Controversiall

Chomely Examen Consilij Tridenti folio

Chamien Panstratia 4 Vol 8^o

Field of the Church — folio
Dr Hammond Political Discourses folio
Dr Combes Roman forgeries 4^o
Liturgia Tirgunia 8^o
Hookers Ecclesiastical Polity folio
Bp. Hillingfoots Unreasonableness of Separation
Dr Sharlocks Defence of it
Vindication of the Defence

Bp Kings Invention of men in the worship of God. 12
Account of Ancient Church Government 4^o
M^r N. M. M. Mens work 4 vol 8^o

Snake in the grass — 8^o

XIII. Philological & Miscellaneous folio
Plutarchi Opera Græc. Lat. Francofurti 2 vol
Ciceronis Opera London 2 vol folio
Epictetus Græc. Lat. cum selectis Tabula
Littltons Dictionary. 4^o
Scapulus Laicon folio
Lighbourns Cursus Mathematicus folio
Introductio ad Chronologium 8^o
Henrica Mori Opera Theologica

XIV. Ministerial Directions 8^o
M^r Dodwells Letters for the Suspension of holy Orders
M^r Baxter Jeldas Salvanda —
Poultons Apparatus — 8^o
Bp. Burnetts pastoral Care
Bibliotheca Parochialis —

The Orgys honour in the Life of
St Basil & St Crisostom,
Dayly office for the sick &c.
Anno Domini 1698

All Lodged for their profane in the now
swelling hoaps of the Roadward M^r
Samuel Myles placed in 12 boxes made
suitable to contain them

Boston in New England Dec^r 21. 1714
A true Copy then compared with the
Entry in the Church book. ff John Joly
Churchwardens.
Geo: Newton

The following books were in the
possession of the Rev^d Mr Henry Harris
and were burnt at M^r Ferrys in the
dreadfull fire which destroyed that
part of the Town.

D^r Hammonds Annotations upon N. T.
D^r Barrows two volumes Folio
Bp Pearson on the Creed —
D^r Edwards upon the Existence of God. —

Downname, George.

A treatise of justification. London, 1639. (STC 7123)

Downname, John.

The Christian warfare. 4th ed. London, 1634. (STC 7137)

Drelincourt, Charles.

The Christian's defence. 3d ed. London, 1692. (Not in Wing)

[Dugdale, *Sir William*.]

A short view of the late troubles in England. Oxford, 1681. (Wing D2492)

Dupin, Louis Ellies.

A new history. 2d ed. London, 1693-95. 7 v. in 3. (Wing D2644)

Edwards, John.

A discourse concerning the authority, v. 2-3. London, 1694-95. (Wing E202)

Edwards, John.

A discourse concerning the authority. 2d ed. London, 1696. (Wing E203)

Ellis, John.

Articulorum XXXIX ecclesiæ anglicanæ defensio. Amstelodami, 1696.

Epiphanius, *St.*

Opera omnia. Ed. nova. Coloniae, 1682. 2 v.

Estius, Gulielmus.

In omnes Beati Pauli et aliorum apostolorum epistolas commentaria. Parisiis, 1623.

Estius, Gulielmus.

In quatuor libros sententiarum commentaria. Parisiis, 1638.

Eusebius *Caesariensis*.

Ecclesiasticæ historiæ. Moguntiae, 1672.

Falkner, William.

Two treatises. London, 1684. (Wing F335)

Field, Richard.

Of the church. 2d ed. Oxford, 1628. (STC 10858)

Fowler, Edward.

The design of Christianity. 2d ed. London, 1676. (Wing F1699)

Fowler, Edward.

Libertas evangelica. London, 1680. (Wing F1709)

Fulgentius, *St.*

Opera quæ extant, omnia. Basileæ, [1587?].

Goodman, John.

The penitent pardon'd. 4th ed. London, 1694. (Wing G1118)

Gregorius *Nazianzenus*, *St.*

Opera, v. 2. Parisiis, 1630.

Grotius, Hugo.

De veritate religionis Christianæ. Oxoniæ, 1675. (Wing G2104)

Hammond, Henry.

The works of. Fourth volume. London and Oxford, 1684. (Wing H507)

Hammond, Henry.

The works of, v. 1-2. 2d ed. London, 1684. (Wing H508)

Hammond, Henry.

A paraphrase, and annotations upon all the books of the New Testament. 3d ed. London, 1671. (Wing H574)

Heylyn, Peter.

Theologia veterum, or the summe. London, 1654. (Wing H1738)

Hieronymus, *St.*

Opera omnia. Parisiis, 1609. 4 v. in 3.

Hooker, Richard.

The works of. London, 1676. (Wing H2632)

Hopkins, Ezekiel.

An exposition on the Lord's Prayer. London, 1692. (Wing H2730)

Hopkins, Ezekiel.

An exposition on the ten commandments. London, 1692. (Wing H2732)

Horneck, Anthony.

The happy ascetick. London, 1681. (Wing H2839)

Jackson, Thomas.

The works of. London, 1673. 3 v. (Wing J90)

Justinus *Martyr*, *St.*

Opera. Colonix, 1686.

Kettlewell, John.

The measures of Christian obedience. 3d ed. London, 1696. (Wing K375)

[Lamb, Thomas.]

A fresh suit against independency. London, 1677. (Wing L210)

[Lamb, Thomas.]

A stop to the course. 2d ed. London, 1693. (Wing L212)

- LeBlanc de Beaulieu, Ludovicus.
Theses theologicæ. 3d ed. Londini, 1683. (Wing L803)
- Leighton, Robert.
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- Leighton, Robert.
A practical commentary, . . . vol. II. London, 1694. (Wing L1029)
- Leighton, Robert.
Prælectiones theologicæ. Londini, 1693. (Wing L1030)
- Leybourn, William.
Cursus mathematicus. Mathematical sciences. London, 1690. (Wing L1911)
- Lightfoot, John.
The works of. London, 1684. 2 v. (Wing L2051)
- Limborch, Philippus van.
Theologia Christiana. Ed. altera. Amstelædami, 1695.
- [Long, Thomas.]
A continuation and vindication of the defence. London, 1682. (Wing L2964)
- Mede, Joseph.
The works of. 4th ed. London, 1677. (Wing M1589)
- More, Henry.
Opera omnia. Londini, 1679. (Wing M2633)
- More, Henry.
Opera theologica. Londini, 1675. (Wing M2636)
- More, Henry.
Scriptorum philosophicorum tomus alter. Londini, 1679. (Wing M2676)
- Newman, Samuel.
A large and compleat concordance to the Bible. 3d ed. London, 1658. (Wing N931)
- Pelling, Edward.
A discourse concerning the existence of God. London, 1696. (Wing P1078)
- Penton, Stephen.
Apparatus ad theologiam. Londini, 1688. (Wing P1437)
- Peraldus, Gulielmus.
Summae virtutum ac vitiorum. Antverpiæ, 1571. 2 v. in 1.
- Perkins, William.
Works, v. 1. Cambridge, 1608. (STC 19649)

Perkins, William.

Works, v. 3. London and Cambridge, 1613. (STC 19650)

Perkins, William.

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Polanus, Amandus.

Syntagma theologiæ Christianæ. Francofurti et Hanoviæ, 1655.

Polycarp, *St.*

Polycarpi et Ignatii epistolæ. Oxoniæ, 1644. (Wing P2789)

Quick, John.

Synodicon in Gallia reformata. London, 1692. 2 v. in 1. (Wing Q209)

[Rawlet, John.]

The Christian monitor. 20th ed. London, 1696. (Wing R350)

Reynolds, Edward.

The works of. London, 1679. (Wing R1235)

Sanderson, Robert.

Casus conscientiæ. Cantabrigiæ, 1688. (Wing S581)

Sanderson, Robert.

De juramenti. Londini, 1696. (Wing S588)

Sanderson, Robert.

De obligatione. Londini, 1696. (Wing S596)

Sanderson, Robert.

XXXV sermons. 7th ed. London, 1681. (Wing S637)

Scapula, Joannes.

Lexicon græcolatinum novum. Ed. ultima. Genevæ, 1628.

Scott, John.

The Christian life. Part I. 6th ed. London, 1694. (Not in Wing)

Scott, John.

The Christian life. Part II, vol. I, 4th ed. London, 1695. (Wing S2052)

Scott, John.

The Christian life. Part II, vol. II. 4th ed. London, 1697. (Wing S2055)

Scott, John.

The Christian life. Part III, vol. IV. London, 1696. (Wing S2056)

Scrivener, Matthew.

Apologia pro s. ecclesiæ patribus. Londini, 1672. (Wing S2116)

Sharrock, Robert.

De officiis secundum naturæ jus. Oxoniæ, 1660. (Wing S3014)

[Sherlock, William.]

A defence and continuation of the discourse concerning the knowledge of Jesus Christ. London, 1675. (Wing S3281)

[Sherlock, William.]

A discourse about church-unity. London, 1681. (Wing S3284)

Sherlock, William.

A discourse concerning the divine providence. 2d ed. London, 1694.

(Wing S3287)

Sherlock, William.

A discourse concerning the knowledge of Jesus Christ. 3d ed. London, 1678.

(Wing S3290)

Sherlock, William.

A practical discourse concerning a future judgment. 4th ed. London, 1695.

(Wing S3310)

Sherlock, William.

A practical discourse concerning death. 9th ed. London, 1696.

(Wing S3320)

Socrates *Scholasticus*.

Socratis . . . et . . . Sozomeni Historia ecclesiastica. Moguntiæ, 1677.

Stillingfleet, Edward.

A discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity. 2d ed. London, 1697. (Wing S5586)

Stillingfleet, Edward.

Origines sacræ. 5th ed. London, 1680. (Wing S5620)

Stillingfleet, Edward.

The unreasonableness of separation. 3d ed. London, 1682. (Wing S5677)

Taylor, Jeremy.

The great exemplar of sanctity. 4th ed. London, 1667. (Wing T345)

Tertullianus, Quintus Septimus Florens.

Opera. Lutetiæ, 1634.

Tillotson, John.

A seasonable vindication of the b. Trinity. London, 1697. (Wing T1221)

Tillotson, John.

Sermons and discourses, v. 3. 4th ed. London, 1694. (Wing T1254)

Tillotson, John.

Sermons concerning the divinity. 2d ed. London, 1695. (Wing T1255A)

Tillotson, John.

Sermons preach'd upon several occasions. 1st vol. 8th ed. London, 1694.

(Wing T1260)

Tillotson, John.

Sermons preached upon several occasions. Second vol. 6th ed. London, 1694.

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Tillotson, John.

Sermons preach'd upon several occasions. 4th vol. London, 1695.

(Wing T1261)

Tillotson, John.

Several discourses. 4th vol. London, 1697.

(Not in Wing)

Tillotson, John.

Six sermons. London, 1694.

(Wing T1268)

Tillotson, John.

Sixteen sermons. 2d vol. London, 1696.

(Not in Wing)

Tillotson, John.

Sixteen sermons. 3d vol. London, 1696.

(Wing T1270)

Turretin, François.

Compendium theologiæ didactico-elenctica. Amstelodami, 1695.

[Varen, Bernhard.]

Cosmography and geography. 3d imp. London, 1693.

(Wing V104)

Vossius, Gerardus.

Theses theologicæ et historicæ. Bellositi Dobunorum, 1628. (STC 24883)

Wilson, Thomas.

A complete Christian dictionary. 8th ed. London, 1678. (Wing W2945)

Books added since 1698

An answer to several remarks upon Dr. Henry More his expositions. London, 1684. (Wing A3379)

Basilius *Cæsariensis*, St.

Opera omnia. Parisiis, 1638. 3 v.

Bayle, Pierre.

Dictionnaire historique et critique. 3e éd. Rotterdam, 1720. 4 v.

Bible. *O.T. Psalms. English.*

The Book of Psalms. [By Peter Allix.] London, 1701. 2 copies.

Bingham, Joseph.

The works of. London, 1726. 2 v.

Binius, Severinus.

Concilia generalia et provincialia. 2a ed. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1618. 4 v. in 5.

Bray, Thomas.

Catechetical discourses on the whole doctrine of the covenant of grace. London, 1701.

Bull, George.

Opera omnia. Londini, 1703.

Burnet, Gilbert.

An exposition of the thirty-nine articles. 3d ed. corr. London, 1705.

Cassianus, Johannes.

De institutis coenibiorum. Basel, 1485. (Stillwell C210)

Church of England.

The Book of common prayer. London, [1731?].

Church of England.

The Book of common prayer. London, 1766. 2 copies.

Cyrillus *Hierosolymitanus*, *St.*, and Synesius *Cyrenaeus*, *St.*

Opera graec. lat. [Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1631.]

Dionysius *Areopagita*, *St.*

Opera omnia quae extant. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1615.

[Dodwell, Henry.]

Prælectiones academicæ. Oxonii, 1692. (Wing D1815)

Edwards, John.

The preacher. The third part. London, 1709.

Hilarius *Pictaviensis*, *St.*

Quotquot extant opera. Parisiis, 1652.

Irenaeus, *St.*

Contra omnes hæreses. Oxoniae, 1702.

Josephus, Flavius.

Opera . . . omnia. Oxonii, 1720. 2 v.

Keith, George.

An exact narrative of the proceedings. London, 1696. (Wing K161)

Keith, George.

George Keith's fifth narrative. London, 1701.

Keith, George.

George Keith's fourth narrative. London, 1700. (Wing K167)

Keith, George.

A second narrative. London, 1697. (Wing K204)

Keith, George.

A third narrative. London, 1698. (Wing K218)

Leland, John.

A view of the principal deistical writers. 3d ed. London, 1757. 2 v.

[Leslie, Charles.]

A defence of a book intituled, The snake in the grass. London, 1700.

(Wing L1126)

Leslie, Charles.

The theological works of. London, 1721. 2 v.

Lloyd, William.

Series chronologica. Oxoniæ, 1700. (Wing L2698)

Lucius, Ludwig.

Historia ecclesiastica. Basileæ, 1624. 3 v.

More, Henry.

Apocalypsis Apocalypseos; or the revelation. London, 1680. (Wing M2641)

More, Henry.

Discourses on several texts. London, 1692. (Wing M2649)

More, Henry.

An illustration of those two . . . Daniel. London, 1685. (Wing M2662)

More, Henry.

Paralipomena prophetica containing several supplements. London, 1685.

(Wing M2669)

More, Henry.

A plain and continued exposition of . . . Daniel. London, 1681.

(Wing M2673)

Nectarius.

Confutatio imperii Papæ in ecclesiam. Londini, 1702.

Raleigh, *Sir* Walter.

The historie of the world. London, 1666. (Wing R164)

[Sage, John.]

A vindication of a discourse entituled The principles of the Cyprianic age.
London, 1701.

[Sarpi, Paolo.]

The historie of the Council of Trent. London, 1620. (STC 21761)

Sherlock, Thomas.

Several discourses preached at the Temple Church. London, 1756.

Tena, Luis de.

Commentaria . . . Pauli ad Hebræos. Londini, 1661. (Wing T677)

Theodoretus.

Theodoreti . . . et Evagrii . . . Historia ecclesiastica. Moguntia, 1679.

Walker, John.

An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy. London, 1714.

West, Gilbert.

A defence of the Christian revelation. London, 1748. 2 copies.

February Meeting, 1950

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 23 February 1950, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. WILLIAM GREENOUGH WENDELL, of West Hartford, Connecticut, and Mr. JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS, of New Haven, Connecticut, were elected Corresponding Members of the Society.

The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE read a paper entitled: "Nathaniel (Son of John) Smibert," which presented material subsequently published in his *John Smibert Painter, with a Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits, and Notes on the Work of Nathaniel Smibert* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

April Meeting, 1950

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 April 1950, at a quarter before nine o'clock, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The chair appointed the following committees in anticipation of the Annual Meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices,—Messrs. ELIOTT PERKINS and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts,—Messrs. WILLARD GOODRICH COGSWELL and ARTHUR STANWOOD PIER.

To arrange for the Annual Dinner,—Messrs. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Mr. HENRY MORSE CHANNING read a paper entitled: "Massachusetts' Lost 'Liberties,' John Winthrop the Younger and Castle Hill, Ipswich."

Journey to Middleborough

6 June 1950

ON Tuesday, 6 June 1950, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Oliver invited the Society to visit them at Middleborough, Massachusetts. Twenty-six members were present, the majority of whom travelled from Boston together in a New York, New Haven and Hartford bus.

As the day was fine, luncheon was served out of doors. The members greatly enjoyed the opportunity to inspect the delightful house, built in 1769 by Judge Peter Oliver of the Superior Court of Judicature for his son, Dr. Peter Oliver. After luncheon some wandered through the pleasant woods, while two unusually rugged guests ventured upon the Nemasket River in a canoe.

Although no shadow of a formal meeting marred the geniality of this country journey, Mr. Oliver placed the Society further in his debt by offering for publication in these *Transactions* a paper entitled:

Judge Oliver and the

Small Oliver House in Middleborough

THE small Oliver house in Middleborough was built in 1769 by Judge Peter Oliver of the Superior Court of Judicature for his son Dr. Peter Oliver who, on the first of February, 1770, was to marry Sally, the eldest daughter of Thomas Hutchinson, then Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and shortly to be Governor.

Presumably the building of the house began toward the middle of the year. When we had to replace the sills a few years ago we found, face up, near the center of the front door, upon the sill, a brand new (or what looked as though it had been brand new when it was put there) penny with the date 1769. It seems reasonable that this must have taken some time to get to the colony from England, so we deduce the spring or summer as the time the house was started. Scratched into the cement of the foundations of the right-hand chimney is the date 1769; and we found it again, under about six layers of wallpaper, in the "best" bedroom closet.

Despite the fact that there are a number of references to it as having been built in 1762, and the fact that there have in the past been postcards of it, printed hereabouts, with that date (one of these postcards even adds that the house was seized by the British during the Revolution!), there is no question about when it was built, or under what circumstances. Unfortunately not very much more is known.

It is almost exactly the same in its dimensions as the Wythe house in Williamsburg; windows and fireplaces downstairs and up are the same. The halls resemble each other, the stairs and bannisters are alike, though these turn to the left and those in the Wythe house to the right. In this house the stairs rise from close to the front door, which leaves a larger space in the back than in the front of the downstairs hall. In the Wythe house this is reversed. Here, at the head of the stairs and in the center of the house, a partition makes a small back hall off which open four rooms, two good-sized ones on the sides and two small ones in the middle. The Wythe house does not have the wall setting off the back hall, nor does it have the two very small bedrooms; and in this house it seems as though the present division in the center upstairs was not part of the original plan.

Judge Oliver, who built this house for his son, was the youngest son of Daniel Oliver, merchant of Boston, one-time member of Her Majesty's Council, and his wife Elizabeth Belcher Oliver. He was born in 1713, was graduated from Harvard in 1730, and married, in 1733, Mary, the daughter of William Clark of Boston, for several years a member of the General Court. In 1744 he left Boston for Middleborough, attracted, perhaps, as Weston's history of the town says, by the beauty of the place, and probably also by the attention it had received as a result of a petition of the remaining Indians living here at Muttuck, as this part was called, that they be allowed to move farther down river in the direction of Titicut. Conceivably his interest may have been turned a little in this direction by the fact that his grandfather, Captain Peter Oliver, had at one time owned a part of Naushon Island. He purchased first about three hundred acres, including the dam then recently authorized by the town, and the water privilege, and gradually acquired more land. Here he spent the next thirty years of his life.

The extent to which he developed the property is a little hard to discover at the distance of two centuries. A forge was erected on the dam, there was a slitting mill, and an iron furnace known as Oliver's Furnace. There is a story which has been often told about the slitting mill, how at the time the Judge acquired his property here there was only one such mill in this part of the country, and that near Milton. No one is supposed then

to have known the method of its operations and the Judge is reported to have offered a substantial sum of money to one Hushai Thomas, a skilful young man of the town, if he would build him a mill to produce nail rods as good as those made in Milton. Mr. Thomas is said to have disappeared from the town inexplicably, and it was observed that his wife and family evinced no fears as to his whereabouts. There is not much detail in the versions of this story, but about the time Thomas disappeared from Middleborough an unkempt and apparently partly demented fellow turned up in Milton, and through friendship with town children gained access to the works. Eventually Thomas came back. The foundations of the slitting mill were laid and the product, when finally operations began, equalled that of any other part of the country. It is said that from this point the situation of the Thomas family showed a marked improvement.

There are a few letters of Judge Oliver's left which show him to have taken an active part in the operation of his property. One in 1756 to the "Hon'ble Committee of War about two howitzers just ordered," reads in part:

. . . Had I known of your having occasion for them ten days ago, I could have supplied you, but I finished my Blast three or four days since. . . . I have been to a great deal of trouble and Charge to secure Mountain ore to make warlike stores . . . for guns and mortars. . . .

He writes of being sensible of the "Risque of making guns and mortars from Bog ore, [so] that I shall not attempt them again with that." In another letter he speaks of "granadoe" shells, and of having "lent Mr. Barker my Pattern for the Mortars," and of having sent "vessel after vessel" for material for another furnace which would have made possible the much speedier supply to New York of "Stores of such consequence."

The files in London of the proceedings of the Commissioners of American Claims throw some light on the extent of his interests here. He was dispossessed, he wrote, "of an estate real and personal which was competent to the support with decency of his large family."

He describes his private business as having been of a very lucrative nature. The schedule of his estate, which he held eventually in fee simple with his son Peter Oliver, Junior, lists the large forge, 70 feet long and 50 feet wide, "almost new" (the date of this communication is 11 March 1784 and presumably refers to a situation of about ten years earlier); the slitting mill to which they had an exclusive right in New England by Act of Parliament; a saw mill, grist mill, boulting mill, and cider mill; an anchor shop, blacksmith shop, and "machine for weighing carts and

their ladings." There was a barn 90 feet long and 40 feet wide for charcoal; there were three hundred and fifty acres of woodland, within two miles of the aforesaid works, worth "twenty shillings per acre"; and one hundred acres of improved land adjoining. There were five dwelling houses, barns, threshing house, and orchard.

These were what pertained to the business that he had developed and not to the property adjoining his iron works where stood his "large dwelling house, stables and outhouses, garden and orchard," and another "good dwelling house," the whole fenced in with stone walls. He listed separately his land in other parts of the Province, and his interest in a dock called Oliver's Dock in Boston which today is known as Rowe's Wharf.

In a letter from Birmingham in 1787 he says "that most of the iron works in the province were upon a small scale, and generally were owned by a number of proprietors" who supplied them from their own labor and from a swamp ore of little cost. Here, perhaps, he is remembering his experience of thirty-one years earlier of the "Risque of making guns . . . from Bog ore." Most of these operations were winter works and were built on small streams often exhausted by summer droughts. "On the contrary," he writes, "my stream [this is the Nemasket which flows beside us] was supplied from five ponds, the lower one was always reputed nine miles round; the next ten miles long, two others, each four or five miles, and one of about three miles round, all of which could supply me with a constant flow of water. I have often had eight wheels going at the same time, on one dam, and waste water for eight wheels more. . . ."

He writes that his works "were also situated so as to reduce my land carriage of ten miles, to water carriage to New York, from whence I furnished myself with pig iron." Several months in the year he could convey his pig iron to within a few yards of his forge by water. He mentions also that he was but fifteen miles land carriage to whence he could convey his goods to Boston by water.

All of this was built up out of his thirty years in Middleborough, but most of the work must have been done before his appointment to the Superior Court in 1756. Even from 1744 he was continuously employed in the service of the Crown and of the Province as Commissioner of the Peace, Judge of the Inferior Court, of the Quorum, of the Superior Court; as member of His Majesty's Council, and as Justice of the Peace throughout the entire province. During the years he served on the Superior Court he said that he travelled 1,100, 1,200, and even 1,500 miles per year to attend the business of thirteen counties.

It may properly be noted that for none of these services had he received any compensation in the form of salary until His Majesty granted him a salary in 1772 as Chief Justice. Even this he did not accept until one of his fellow justices, Judge Trowbridge, was persuaded to refuse a salary as justice from the Crown and accept it only as from the General Court. At this Judge Oliver accepted the offer from the King.

This salary was the bribe for accepting which he was impeached. In 1774, banished, his return forbidden under pain of death, his property confiscated, he sailed for England. It was the end of March when "about 70 sail" set out from Nantasket for Halifax. "Here," he wrote in his diary, "I took my leave of that once happy country where peace and plenty reigned uncontrolled, till that infernal Hydra Rebellion, with its hundred heads had devoured its happiness, spread desolation over its fields, and ravaged the peaceful mansions of its inhabitants. . . . Here I bid Adieu to that shore which I never wish to tread again till that greatest of social blessings, a firm, established British Government, precedes or accompanies me thither." He and his son Peter Junior, of this house, were the fourth and fifth generations of the family to have lived in this country. He never returned, nor did any of his descendants, nor any of the Hutchinsons who sailed with them. Mary Sanford Oliver of St. John's, New Brunswick, in 1851 wrote to her cousin, my grandfather Andrew Oliver in Boston, "I have often heard my mother speak of the shipload of Olivers and Hutchinsons who at the time of the Revolution went to England calling themselves 'sturdy beggars.'"

The last years of the Chief Justice's life were passed in England. He compiled and published a Scripture Lexicon which went through several editions, and which was for a time used as a textbook at Oxford. Shortly after his return Oxford gave him the honorary degree of D.C.L. Hutchinson received the same degree at the same time, and is said to have valued it more than any honor bestowed upon him. The event is described in his diary. "After putting on the Doctor's scarlet gowns, and bands, and caps, [we] were introduced into the Theatre, . . . presented separately to the Vice-Chancellor who conferred the degrees of Doctor, In Jure, Civile, Honoris Causa." (This was the degree that only recently before had been given to Dr. Johnson, and in our time to Mr. Winston Churchill.) The Judge also describes the scene, with the two thousand spectators, "the ladies by themselves in brilliant order . . . the theatre a most noble building . . . the accompaniment of music, orchestral and vocal."

The happiest years of the Judge's life were surely spent here in Middleborough, particularly here, just across the river, on the westernmost of



The house in Middleborough, Massachusetts, built by Chief Justice Peter Oliver in 1769 for his son, Peter Oliver, on the occasion of his marriage to Sally Hutchinson, daughter of Governor Thomas Hutchinson.



MRS. DANIEL OLIVER

Elizabeth Belcher, daughter of Hon. Andrew Belcher, and sister of Governor Jonathan Belcher; married 23 April 1696 Daniel Oliver; died 1735; mother of Chief Justice Peter Oliver and grandmother of Peter Oliver, Jr., for whom the Middleborough house was built.

*Portrait by John Smibert owned by Mrs. Richard Oliver
and Miss Prudence Oliver.*



THREE OLIVER BROTHERS (Daniel, Andrew, and Peter)

Three sons of Daniel and Elizabeth (Belcher) Oliver, Daniel, Jr. (1703/4-1727), Andrew (1706-1774), Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, and Peter (1713-1791).

Copy by George Smith, owned by Mrs. Richard H. Lawrence and Miss Prudence Oliver,
of portrait by John Smibert.



CHIEF JUSTICE PETER OLIVER

Peter Oliver, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Belcher) Oliver; born Boston, 26 March 1713; graduated from Harvard 1730; married Mary, daughter of William and Hannah (Appleton) Clark, 5 July 1733; Chief Justice of Massachusetts. He lived in Boston until the outbreak of the Revolution, when, being a Loyalist, he went to England where he lived in Birmingham until his death in October 1791. He built the Middleborough house for his son Peter Oliver in 1769.

*Portrait by John Smibert owned by Mrs. Richard Oliver
and Miss Prudence Oliver.*



*Chief Justice Peter Oliver weeping by the grave of his wife;
oil portrait by John Singleton Copley, owned by
Mrs. Richard H. Lawrence and Miss Prudence Oliver.*



PETER OLIVER (1767-1831)

*Pastel by Michele Felice Corné, owned by
Mrs. Richard H. Lawrence and Miss Prudence Oliver.*



THOMAS FITCH OLIVER (1779-1821)

*Pastel by Michele Felice Corné,
owned by Mrs. Richard H. Lawrence and Miss Prudence Oliver.*



the two Muttok hills where he lived. This had been the meeting place of the Indians, and when the first settlers ventured west from Plymouth to meet Massassoit, it was probably here that the meeting occurred.

But Europeans had known a little of this country for a long time before then. In 1524 Verrazzano the Florentine was somewhere in Buzzards Bay for fifteen days and noted the goodly stature and shape of "two kings" that he met. Martin Pring was along the coast in 1603, and after him Captain Weymouth and Bartholomew Gosnold; Hunt was left here in 1614 by Captain John Smith. Demier, or Dermier, who was here in 1618, rescued the nameless French sailor who had been wrecked on the coast three years before. Demier ventured inland, a one day's journey to the westward to Nemasket. "Here," he recorded, "I redeemed a Frenchman."

Nemasket, the name of the river, means, in the Indian language, the place of fish; Assawompsett, the pond to the southward from which the river rises, means the place of white stones; Titicut, downstream a few miles, the place whither in 1737 the Indians petitioned to be allowed to move, means the place of the great river. It is at Titicut that the Nemasket joins the Taunton River, and an account of the Indians in the *Middleborough Gazette* for 10 September 1859 says that John Eliot, in his Bible for the Indians, translated Euphrates as Titicut. This is the sort of reference that the casual historian is reluctant to check lest it turn out not to be true.

The Indians that lived here, the Wampanoags, cast their lines in pleasant places. The meeting place of the sachems on the Muttok hill is one of the few places in this part of the country where there is a view. From there, on a fine day, one can see the salt water at Plymouth, and the country opens away wide and handsome to the northeast. The country here abounds in ponds and lakes, and there are numerous springs of sweet water and good hunting and good fishing. The herring played an important part in the life of the community. The Indians ate the fish in a number of different ways as they caught them, and they also smoked and dried them for a ready supply in the fall and winter.

The rights to take the fish (the ones that run here are alewives) have always been jealously guarded by the towns. The objection against damming the river here came from fear as to what it would do to the run of herring. In some places fish ladders were built over the dams. No subject in the Commonwealth has given rise to more enactments than that relating to the taking of the herring. In the early days each person in the town, for a slight fee, was allowed 200 fish. Widows and spinsters were

supplied by the town. In 1706 the price was six pence a load, first come first served. In 1725 it was agreed that 8,000 fish should be accounted a load and that each man that had had no fish the year before should have them first, "provided they have their cart ready at the weir, and not else." They were used mostly for fertilizer—the Indians taught them this—and the rule was one fish to one hill of corn. From this came the expression still heard occasionally of referring to a field as "all herring'd out."

In recent years they have not come regularly, due perhaps to the pollution of the water that seems to come with progress. But last year and this year in April they ran again. Just below the dam here by the road the water was black with them; it gave the impression that one could walk across on top of them. Children reached in and pulled them out. They struggled so furiously up that from time to time they would jump themselves out of the water and onto the banks, where they were low, to the satisfaction of a flock of herring gulls that wheeled incessantly overhead all the time the fish were here. And I watched them last year, when they came to the dam, not jump it but swim up it! This sounds incredible and must be seen to be believed.

Seven Indian trails met here in the lands of the Nemaskets at Middleborough. These are mentioned in early deeds and in many cases became boundary lines; the one from Plymouth passed in front of where this house is and became the public highway; it is the Plymouth Street of today. Mourt's *Relation* describes it as seen by Bradford and Miles Standish on their second adventure, 30 November. "The next morning we followed certain beaten paths and tracks of the Indians into the woods. After a while we came upon a very broad beaten path well nigh ten feet broad."

The early settlers as they came a little to the west here were struck by the resemblance of some of this land by the river to park land in parts of England; here it had all been burnt over so that only the tall trees remained. They were surprised by the extensive cultivation. They were only a few years after the great plague which had wiped out so many of the Indians in 1617 or 1619, and they noticed that "here have been many towns . . . the ground is very good on both sides (of the river). . . . A pity it was to see so many goodly fields and so well seated without the men to dress and manure them . . . upon this river dwelleth Massassoit."

Hopkins and Winslow in the summer of 1621 were welcomed by the Indians and given an abundant repast of the spawn of shad and of a kind of bread called maizum and of boiled musty acorns. They found the Indians fishing on a weir, probably where the river widens just across

Plymouth Street from here. Their first night they spent with Massassoit; on his bed, in fact, a wooden platform about a foot off the ground, of which the two whites had half and Massassoit and his wife the other half. This was probably across the river on the Muttock hill or a little farther to the east on what is called now Fort Hill, where one of the town high schools stands. They recorded that they found the Indian custom of singing themselves to sleep not conducive to slumber in their case.

The next evening they returned to the weir where the Indians had been fishing. "It pleased God to give them a good store of fish so we were well refreshed when we went to bed."

In 1660 Massassoit died of the plague and left two sons, Wamsutta and Pometican. Hubbard says of Wamsutta, who was also called Alexander, "that he had neither affection to the persons, nor to the religion, of the whites." He plotted against the English, and on an expedition to Marshfield to treat with them he fell sick in Winslow's house, was taken to Governor Bradford's in Plymouth and then, continuing sick, carried by his people "to their wading place at Nemasket." This is about a mile upstream from here. There they embarked in canoes but he died before he reached home.

His brother Pometican became Sachem and war between the Indians and the whites began and spread throughout this part of Massachusetts and into Rhode Island. It ended with the death of Pometican, shot and then beheaded. He, like his brother Wamsutta, had changed his name and the war is called after him, King Philip's War.

This was the beginning of the decline of the Indians, unless, indeed, the date be put farther back to the arrival of Verrazzano or perhaps even that of Columbus to the south. Here in Middleborough, by 1793, there were but eight families, poor, improvident, and intemperate; and in 1831 the last of them, Ben Simonds, said to have been a Revolutionary soldier, was buried by the side of Assawompsett Pond in Lakeville. There is a small monument to his memory still there. Recently his remains are said to have been dug up and taken to Harvard. This may not be so, but it seems unpleasantly likely.

The oldest burial place of the Indians was on the hill across from what was the site of Oliver Hall. Today there is not much trace left of the Indian graves, and there is almost none of Oliver Hall.

About twenty acres of the land that Judge Oliver acquired when he came here in 1744 he enclosed after the manner of an English park. The driveway came in to the eastward on the north side of the hill and led through an orchard; then dividing, one part toward the river, the other

to the south, came round through gardens to the front of the hall.

There are, so far as I know, no contemporary plans or drawings either of the property or the house, and Thomas Weston's sketch of the life of the Chief Justice, his history of the towns, occasional letters and articles in the *Nemasket Gazette*, later the *Middleborough Gazette*, and certain of the files of the claims of the loyalists which are unpublished but available in London, these are the sources of most of the information here.

The grounds were planted with shrubs and flowers; John Adams' diary speaks of these. The avenue was lined with ornamental trees. What was called, and what is still called here, Oliver's Walk made a half circle about the Hall along the edge of the river. In a cleft in the hill to the south of the Hall and halfway between the top and the river there was a spring and spring house which is also referred to as the banqueting house and as the summer pavilion. The spring was used to cool the wine on summer days and a few of the dark green bottles with PO stamped or blown on them still exist. My father has one of them.

In the Judge's diary there is a description of a visit made in England to the country house of Lord Edgecombe, and of a walk there which "filled the mind with pleasure." "But I was in one walk," he writes, "deprived of pleasure for a moment it being so like a serpentine walk of mine on the banks of the river Nemasket . . . (so) that I was snatched from where I now was, to the loss of where I had so late been, in the arms of contentment."

The Hall was built with a steep roof and deep jutting eaves, with walls of white plaster and portico of oak. Its frame is said to have been shipped from England, and the interior decorations, carvings, wainscoting, and hangings made expressly for it in London.

The large hall opened to the east on the river and was wainscoted with English oak. The upper part of it is said to have been decorated with hangings of birds and flowers. The ceilings were high. Both Adams and Judge Sewall speak of the pleasure they had in visiting the Hall. Mrs. Norcutt, who was the housekeeper and who lived on here in Middleborough long after the Judge and his family had been banished, wrote, "I remember one day hearing Governor Hutchinson say to Judge Oliver as they were walking in the garden together 'Judge Oliver, you have here one of the loveliest spots in all his Majesty's colony.'"

There are a few little anecdotes about it; that the oaken floor in the big parlor was so polished that on one occasion a maid slipped and spilt tea and cream on the gown of one of the ladies, staining her white satin slipper, whereupon the enraged guest from Boston drew off her slipper and

spanked her soundly "in high dudgeon." This does not speak too well for the Boston lady's manners. One night in 1762 there was a notable company gathered when a messenger came riding up the avenue swinging his hat and shouting, "Long live the King! A Prince has been born to the royal house of England." Governor Hutchinson was there that night and his brother-in-law (they had married Margaret and Mary Sanford), Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, who was the Judge's elder brother. This is another recollection of Mrs. Norcutt and she says that Andrew wore a suit of scarlet velvet and short breeches, long white silk stockings with knee and shoe buckles, and that Hutchinson was dressed the same, though his suit was of blue. With this much about the appearance of the family it is perhaps only fair to record the comment in Hawthorne's *American Notes*, on seeing the Oliver portraits in Salem in 1837, to the effect that the clothes of the family are generally better than the faces. And the Governor was not remarkably handsome. He had what, in my family, we call an Oliver nose which inspired the couplet in a Boston paper:

When Hutchinson came the people arose
To clear a place to land his nose.

The library was separate from the house and connected by a latticed gallery and here were the family portraits. In the Judge's list of things in the house he mentions eight portraits. Some of these may have been the two small Smiberts here; there are two others belonging to my two brothers and one of the Judge's mother, as a widow, which my father has. A daughter-in-law who lived on here as a widow after the Revolution and died in 1832 is mentioned in an article in the *Middleborough Gazette* of 10 September 1859 as having had a full-length portrait of the Judge. (She also remembered that he was fond of Pope and of Thomson's *Seasons*.) That may have been in the Hall. The larger portraits by Smibert and Blackburn and the Copley miniatures which my father has belonged not to Peter Oliver, the Judge, but to Lieutenant Governor Andrew, his elder brother, who also owned the portrait of the three brothers of which there is a copy here.

Also in the library, in addition to the books and portraits, was on one side the family coat of arms, and on the other, in loyal tory style, the bust of King George and the banner of England.

The gayest celebration at the big house was probably the wedding reception for Dr. Peter Oliver, Junior, and his bride Sally. There were guests from town and even from abroad, and they are said to have stayed four days. One lady's hair was so puffed and powdered and rolled high

on her head that she is said to have sat up all night so as not to spoil her hairdresser's work. Another slept with her hands tied over her head so that they might be white for the approaching reception.

Considering the dangers and uncertainties of the times it is almost extraordinary that any carefree occasions can have occurred. It was only four years before that Hutchinson's house in Milton had been destroyed by the mob. He had been warned of the danger and when he heard of the approach of the crowd he had the house closed and secured as well as he could and sent his family away to safety, determined to face the mob himself.

At the last moment Sally came back, the Sally who was to come to this house as a bride, and protested that she would not leave while her father stayed. "I could not stand against this," he wrote, and withdrew with her. As they left by the back of the house they heard the axes splitting the doors and voices cry "Damn him, he's upstairs, we'll have him!" Part of the inventory of the contents mentions little details that one hates to associate with violence; of his daughter's "ruffles, and laced fly caps, riding hoods and ribbons, capes and petticoats, gloves and shoes, and muffs and tippets and so on." Afterward the house of Andrew Oliver was destroyed; and when the Lieutenant Governor died the Chief Justice was warned by young Thomas Hutchinson that his life would be endangered if he attended his brother's funeral.

To Mrs. Norcutt again is owed the account of Judge Oliver's last visit to Middleborough, of his ride down from Boston to reach the Hall on the edge of the evening, travel-stained and weary. He entered the house, collected a few valuables from a secret drawer and, bidding farewell to his housekeeper, left, not to return again.

For a few years the Hall stayed as it was, but violence had long been expected and, at last, on the night of 4 November 1778, the cry went up that the Hall was afire. The library burned first, and the crowd broke in trying to lay their hands on what they could. Parts of the hangings in the lower hall of the birds and flowers were torn off, and it is said that for years afterward the women of the town wore pieces of them in their hair as mementos of the days "when George was King and Oliver was Judge."

Mrs. Norcutt made her way into the great parlor and found a piece of money "about the size of a dollar" in the money closet. She kept it, for she said it always reminded her of that last visit of Judge Oliver, and of his looks, so tired and careworn. She tried to save Madam Oliver's

rosebush, a present from England which grew over the portico, but she could not; the heat was too intense.

In this small house of Peter and Sally Oliver where they lived for the better part of five years there were some happy occasions, surely, at least, when their three children were born, Margaret in 1771, Thomas Hutchinson in 1772, and Peter in 1774. When he was at college Peter had lived with Sally's brother Elisha, and it was through him that he began to see a good deal of the Hutchinsons. He notes in his diary the first time he met her, and refers later to a very agreeable way in her behavior "which I remember pleased me beyond any other of my female acquaintance," though (he added) "I had not the least thought of any connection with her." After the Hutchinson house was destroyed he went to see the family and found Sally "most terribly worried and distressed." That spring he "had obtained leave of her father" to pay his addresses. He writes that the family were very agreeable and says "I found that courtship was the most pleasant part of my life hereto." He seems to have been fond of dividing his life into periods. There is one bright note in his diary that I have always enjoyed. Apropos of his marriage he wrote, "Here ends the happiest period of my life." I have always hoped that Sally never read this.

He does not seem to have shared the regard toward his native land that his father showed to the end of his life. When in 1814 the Massachusetts Historical Society asked to borrow the only perfect manuscript of Hubbard's *History of New England*, which he had inherited, he is said to have sent a surly refusal.

It should be remembered, in extenuation, that these misfortunes, and in his case they were very real misfortunes, came when he was young; and from his point of view the turnings of the times must have been bitter to watch.

It was shortly after this house was built that the reception was held here for Benjamin Franklin. Very little is known about it, by me at least; but ever since the yellow room here in the front of the house has been called the Franklin room. It was Franklin who, a few years later, was to make public parts of some private correspondence of the Judge and Governor, letters shown Franklin with the understanding that they not be published. Needless to say, they were published. I have never been able to understand why the Franklin party was held here, rather than in the Hall, since it must have been before the incident of the letters; and I have always hoped that it may have been that the Judge would not have Mr. Franklin in the house at any stage of his career.

I have said a great deal about the members of my family. Let me offer in justification a quotation from Daniel Webster:

There is a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religion and moral feeling I hardly know what should bear with stronger obligations on a liberal and enlightened mind than a consciousness of an alliance with excellence which is departed, and a consciousness too, that in its acts and conduct, and even in sentiments and thoughts, it may be actively operating on the happiness of those who come after it.

I am sorry that I have not had more that I could say about this house and the Peter Oliver for whom it was built. The schedule of his personal estate mentions the furnishings in the house, the linen and silver, china and glass, kitchen furniture, wearing apparel, tongs, shovels and and-irons, etc. In addition to the small items he listed "an eight day clock, two dining tables, two tea tables, and 14 leather bottomed chairs, all mahogany, 4 plain chairs, 4 looking glasses, a four poster bed, two bureaus, a double chest of drawers all mahogany, six bedsteads, and an easy chair." I did not see this list until after we had refurnished the house and was amused to see that he included also two pictures of the King and Queen. Without knowing, we had replaced these and even added one of the coronation.

Many of the entries in his diaries are of no particular interest today, and not a few are bitter. "Some of our pupies in town are coming to wait on the Judge," he wrote in June, 1774, and in September again—"To-day I was visited by about thirty Middleborough Puppies," and again, he writes of "the consummate impudence" to which he has been subjected. I mention this now in closing only because it gives me a chance to end on a happy note, a headline from the front page of the *Middleborough Gazette* in the middle of November, 1947:

THIS TIME THE OLIVER HOUSE IS NOT BURNED
Historical Association "Mob" meets with
Mr. and Mrs. Peter Oliver.

One hundred and seventy of our neighbors came here that night, and an entirely unnecessary note of thanks, most gratefully received, from the Secretary on behalf of the Society ended: "May God bless this house, and all who dwell there-in."

I can appraise this good sentiment only as the earned result of the lives of those who were here during most of the life of the house: the families

of Sproat, and of Weston, and of Jones. I only hope that their impress upon the spot, with that of the Olivers of the earlier time, and of us, now, may create a benign condition wherein it may be hopefully asked for the present and the future, that God bless this house and all who dwell or come into it!

Annual Meeting

November, 1950

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Tuesday, 21 November 1950, at a quarter after six o'clock in the evening, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1950.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 14 NOVEMBER 1950

ASSETS

Cash:

Income	\$15,173.52	
Loan to Principal	<u>13,764.85</u>	\$1,408.67

Investments at Book Value:

Bonds (Market Value \$154,891.00)	\$155,440.67	
Stocks (Market Value \$172,293.25)	102,582.18	
Savings Bank Deposit	<u>3,010.29</u>	261,033.14
TOTAL ASSETS		<u>\$262,441.81</u>

FUNDS

Funds	\$242,857.00
Unexpended Income	<u>19,584.81</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>\$262,441.81</u>

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, 14 November 1949	\$14,826.48
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RECEIPTS:

Dividends	\$7,806.05
Interest	5,940.19

1950]

Report of the Treasurer

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Annual Assessments	810.00	
From Martha Rebecca Hunt Fund	434.00	
Sales of Publications	433.00	15,423.24
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		<u>\$30,249.72</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Publications	\$4,840.90	
New England Quarterly	3,000.00	
Editor's Salary	1,500.00	
Secretarial Expense	900.00	
Annual Dinner	593.92	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	399.54	
Storage	300.72	
Auditing Services	125.00	
General Expense	119.35	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	111.91	
Joint Dinner with M. H. S.	87.00	
Insurance	86.40	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
Interest on Sarah Louisa Edes Fund added to Principal	2,242.54	
Interest on Henry H. Edes Memorial Fund added to Principal	491.48	
Interest on Albert Matthews Fund added to Principal	253.44	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		<u>\$15,076.20</u>
BALANCE OF INCOME, 14 NOVEMBER 1950		<u><u>\$15,173.52</u></u>

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL

Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended 14 November 1950, have attended to their duties by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

WILLARD G. COGSWELL

ARTHUR S. PIER

Auditing Committee

The Treasurer's Report was accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr.

Vice-Presidents HON. ROBERT WALCOTT

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

Registrar ROBERT DICKSON WESTON

Member of the Council for Three Years PALFREY PERKINS

The Treasurer moved the adoption of the Suggested By-Laws that had been considered at the Annual Meeting in 1949 and had failed, by a fraction of one vote, to receive the approval of three quarters of the members present at the meeting. On this occasion, forty-four votes being cast in the affirmative, four in the negative, and one blank, the By-Laws were adopted in the firm printed in the *Handbook of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts 1892-1952* (Boston, 1953).

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. John Goodbody, the Reverend Duncan Howlett, Mr. William Caleb Loring, Mr. David McCord, Mr. David McKibbin and Mr. Alex Murphy. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

After dinner SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read the Mayflower Compact, and the Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Report of the Council

SINCE the last Annual Meeting the Society has had, as usual, three Stated Meetings; in December and February at the Club of Odd Volumes, and in April at the house of Mr. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr. On 28 December the Society joined with the Massachusetts Historical Society in giving a dinner at the Club of Odd Volumes to their Corresponding

Members who were attending the American Historical Association meeting, and on 6 June Mr. and Mrs. Peter Oliver invited the Society to luncheon in Middleborough.

The Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly* as in past years. Volume 35 of our *Publications*, containing Transactions for the years 1942 to 1946 is now in page proofs and will be printed as soon as the index is completed. Mr. Frederick S. Allis, Jr., who has been editing two volumes of Collections on the Maine land grants has nearly finished his work, and it is hoped that these may go to press in 1951.

The Society has elected the following members:

Resident:

FRANCIS WHITING HATCH
LUCIUS JAMES KNOWLES

Corresponding:

WENDELL STANWOOD HADLOCK
WILLIAM GREENOUGH WENDELL
JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS

During the past year the Society has lost from its rolls by death seven members:

WALDRON PHOENIX BELKNAP, Jr., Resident, 1948, died 14 December 1949. He was a member of this Society for only one year, but his name will be long remembered among scholars. A graduate of Harvard College in 1920 and a Master of Architecture, he munificently repaid his indebtedness to his Alma Mater. The untimely illness which cut short his fruitful life did not end his devotion to his close friends and to art and literature. He will be to Harvard what the Earl of Clarendon is to Oxford, an unceasing giver of beautiful books for all men to read.

GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, Resident, 1929, died 25 February 1950. His service to mankind was prolonged many years by the doctors who produced insulin, and in return he lengthened countless useful lives by discovering in 1926 the curative effect of liver on pernicious anæmia. Few were the learned societies which did not honor themselves by putting his name on their rolls and bestowing on him their supreme awards. Probably no other member of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts will ever receive the Nobel Prize in Medicine. Yet one would never guess all this while talking with him delightfully. Despite his great knowledge of organs and diseases, they were never isolated entities. Whether it was a sick woman seeking help or an eager young research worker to be put in the right

laboratory or a colonial doctor brought to life in a paper for this Society, the individual human being was what counted with George Minot.

CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, died 19 May 1950 in his eighty-third year. He was the oldest member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and joined our Society in 1898, before any member now living. Resigning in 1912 after contributing many papers, he again became a Resident Member in 1926. As Librarian of the Boston Athenæum for thirty-five years, he exceeded the service of all his predecessors. In 1933, at the age of sixty-six he retired but did not cease work. "I very much enjoy growing older." For the Works Progress Administration, he supervised the survey of early American portraits in New England and New York. He wrote many books and a manuscript check-list of false and doubtful portraits in public institutions.

CLARENCE ELDON WALTON, Resident, 1934, Corresponding, 1946, died 25 May 1950, aged fifty-two. Born in Madison, Maine, and a graduate of Bates College, he soon became a librarian at Stanford University and then at New York University. In 1930 he came to Harvard and served sixteen years as Assistant Librarian, notably in the Order Department. His New York experience in collecting and arranging the complex output of the League of Nations broadened into a mastery of the mechanical problems of documents. He drew up and applied a classification for the University Archives and taught a course on Historical Archives, Principles and Practice, one of the first of the kind in the country. For the Tercentenary, he prepared the Library's exhibit, which was recorded in his *Historical Prospect of Harvard College, 1636-1936*. During World War II, he was active in civilian defense. In 1946 he went to the War Department and afterwards the State Department, with especial responsibility for overseas libraries, distributing material over fifty-six countries and getting the *New York Times* by air to remote parts of China.

FRED TARBELL FIELD, Resident, 1934, and Vice-President since 1938, died 22 July 1950. A descendant of Roger Williams, who came back to Massachusetts. Born in Springfield, Vermont, he went to Brown University, which he later served devotedly on its Board of Fellows. After leaving Harvard Law School in 1903, he became an expert on tax law, in public offices till 1919 and then in practice in Boston. Ten years later he was raised from the bar to the Supreme Judicial Court, which is rare in Massachusetts, and in 1938 he moved to the Chief Justice's chair, which had been occupied years before by his uncle. A true judge, he said, "should be a man with his feet on the ground and his head in the clouds."

HARRY ANDREWS WRIGHT, Resident, 1940, died 20 October 1950, aged seventy-eight. He was a descendant of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins and of Miles Standish, too. A lifelong resident of Springfield, his business interests shifted from insurance to corsets to the development and patenting of mechanical devices. His great interest in local history was shown in his *Indian Deeds of Hampden County*, *Early Maps of the Connecticut Valley*, and the recent editing of four volumes of *The Story of Western Massachusetts*. During the 300th anniversary of Springfield, he exploded the city's traditions by insisting that William Pynchon and his band of pioneers sailed up the Connecticut in sloops instead of paddling and then failed to build a cluster of log cabins, inasmuch as these were not known in America until the Finns brought them to Delaware in 1663.

CHARLES ELIOT GOODSPEED, Resident, 1926, and our President in 1945-1946, died on 31 October 1950. At the age of fourteen he went to work. What college could have taught him what he knew? An angler for trout and rare books, a merchant venturer in history, ever ready to give the knowledge in his mind away to needy scholars.

Mr. JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS, Director of the Yale University Art Gallery, addressed the Society and its guests upon the subject: "Food and Drink in the Colonial Period," illustrating his remarks by lantern slides of colonial silver.

December Meeting, 1950

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 December 1950, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

Mr. JOHN PHILLIPS COOLIDGE, of Cambridge, Mr. BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, of Brookline, Mr. DAVID BRITTON LITTLE, of Concord, Mr. DAVID PINGREE WHEATLAND, of Cambridge, and Mr. STEPHEN WHEATLAND, of Brookline, were elected Resident Members and Mr. BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG, of Chester, Connecticut, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. ROBERT PEABODY BELLOWS read a paper entitled: "Whither Away? The Search for the Frame of the First King's Chapel," in which he made an ingenious demonstration by arguments from chronology, structural comparison and measurements that the frame of the original King's Chapel in Boston might have been used in the construction of St. John's Church, Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.

February Meeting, 1951

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 15 February 1951, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., in the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. JOHN PHILLIPS COOLIDGE, Mr. BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, Mr. DAVID BRITTON LITTLE, Mr. DAVID PINGREE WHEATLAND and Mr. STEPHEN WHEATLAND accepting election to Resident Membership, and from Mr. BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG accepting election to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The President reported the death on 8 January 1951 of OGDEN CODMAN, a Resident Member; that on 5 February 1951 of ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT, a Corresponding Member, and that on 9 February 1951 of HAROLD HITCHINGS BURBANK, a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. GORDON THAXTER BANKS, of Shirley, Mr. BUCHANAN CHARLES, of North Andover, Mr. I. BERNARD COHEN, of Cambridge, Mr. DENNIS ALOYSIUS DOOLEY, of Boston, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, of Harvard, Mr. DAVID MILTON KENDALL McKIBBIN, of Boston, Mr. DAVID THOMPSON WATSON McCORD, of Boston, the Reverend RICHARD DONALD PIERCE, of Boston, and Mr. VERNON DALE TATE, of Hingham, were elected Resident Members; the Reverend ARTHUR ADAMS, of Hartford, Connecticut, was elected a Non-Resident Member; Mr. MARION VERNON BREWINGTON, of Cambridge, Maryland, was elected a Corresponding Member; and Mr. JULIAN PARKS BOYD, of Princeton, New Jersey, and Mr. DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN, of Richmond, Virginia, were elected Honorary Members of the Society.

Mr. WENDELL STANWOOD HADLOCK read a paper entitled:

The Islesford Museum

MANY of the members of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts were personally acquainted with William Otis Sawtelle, the founder and creator of the Islesford Historical Museum, Islesford, Maine, and his writings. Therefore the activities and plans for the eventual development of the Islesford Historical Museum is of interest to the members of this Society and other students doing research in the field of colonial history relating to the then eastern lands of Massachusetts, Acadia and Nova Scotia.

In 1948 the Islesford Historical Museum and collection, together with 1.3 acres of land, was added to Acadia National Park. The museum building, in which is housed the entire collection of manuscripts, books and early colonial materials gathered from the Cranberry Isles and adjacent region, consists of three rooms and a central hallway. The building, erected in 1927, is made of brick and granite, with slate roof, and was made possible by the generous contributions of Dr. Sawtelle's friends.

The hallway of the museum building has a flagstone floor with brick sidewalls and with arching doorways leading to rooms on either side. The two rooms flanking the hallway were used by Dr. Sawtelle for exhibition and library purposes. At the extreme end of the central hall, but at a slight elevation, is a rear wing which houses the material gathered from the early settlers and inhabitants of the Cranberry Isles.

For a number of years after the death of Dr. Sawtelle and before the property was acquired by the National Park Service little or no care was given to the materials within the museum, and, consequently, the dampness caused deterioration of valuable materials and manuscripts. In 1949 the museum was open to the general public, and the arrangement of exhibits followed as closely as possible the previous pattern as set by Dr. Sawtelle.

The large entrance corridor was given over to the display of prints, paintings, drawings and photographs of the various commercial ships plying the waters of the Mount Desert Island region.

The room to the right of the entrance corridor exhibits prints, photostats, maps and pictures relating to the early colonial history of Acadia, Nova Scotia and Eastern Massachusetts. In this room are also found prints of the personages who played an important part in the history of the area mentioned above.

The left of the entrance corridor is the library which contains a valuable collection of books relating to this region as well as other prints and

photostatic material dealing with the English phase of Maine history and more particularly the land grants in Maine. The library is unique, for one of its size, in that it contains the working tools necessary for detailed study of this phase of history for which the museum was intended. Among the books may be found:

The Report of the Acadia Commissioners, 1755; John Maurice O'Brien, *The Powers and Duties of the Town Officers as Contained in the Statutes of Maine* (Brunswick, 1822); Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent (Privately printed, 1920); Pierre de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744) and J. G. Shea translation; Lahontan, *Voyages* (2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1705); James Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine* (Boston, I. Thomas, 1795), one copy with 11 p. Index printed from mss. of John Wingate Thornton; Joseph Williamson, *Bibliography of the State of Maine* (Portland, 1896), an annotated copy; Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of the Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864); Beamish Murdock, *A History of Nova Scotia or Acadia* (Halifax, 1863); Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas him Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905-1907), 20 volumes; Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia*, translated by H. Biggar (New York, 1928).

The Cranberry Isles Room at the end of the entrance corridor displays documents relating to the history of the town of Cranberry Isles and tools and materials used by the early settlers of the islands. One section is given over to display of fishing gear, another to cooper's tools used in the manufacture of barrels and hogsheads of the fishing industry, and in various other parts of the room may be found household utensils of a coastal town in the 1800's.

As the museum is now arranged it is necessary that each visitor or group of visitors to the museum be personally guided and told the story of the displays. It is the desire of the National Park Service to modernize the Islesford Historical Museum so that it will conform to the standards of other museums within the park service. It has been suggested that the museum be arranged so that it will be in so far as possible self-explanatory and present a well-rounded story to the general public. The main entrance or the lobby would be given over entirely to the early shipping activities of this region and a special exhibit dealing with shipping. The room to the right of the entrance corridor would be given over entirely to colonial history and early United States history. Such displays in this room would consist of:

1. Basque fishing activities in colonial Maine.

2. Early discoveries and explorations.
3. Historic map of Mount Desert Region.
4. De Monts' colony on St. Croix Island, 1604-1605.
5. French activity in early colonial period.
6. Jesuit Mission at St. Sauveur, Mount Desert Island, 1613.
7. English activity in this region.
8. Popham colony.
9. Land grants on Mount Desert Island.
10. Early land grants of Maine.

The room directly across from the corridor will be a library room without any exhibits. It is planned that this room shall be a combined library-reading room with all of the manuscripts, historical records and reference material available to responsible students. It is hoped that all information in the museum will be cataloged and indexed.

The Island room at the end of the corridor will be devoted entirely to the history of the Cranberry Isles from its earliest mention in historic records down to the present time. Special exhibits will consist of the following:

1. Early kitchen, the fireplace and the necessary utensils of the early 1800's.
2. History of the Cranberry Isles supported by the early town records.
3. Fishing activities and fishing gear used.
4. Exhibit of the activities of lobstering.
5. Shoemaking with cobbler's bench, tools and wares.
6. The cooper's trade. The tools and methods employed in the manufacture of hogsheads and barrels for fishing industry.
7. Exhibits of John Gilley and Sam Hadlock.
8. Relief map of Little Cranberry Island and the waterfront activities of 100 years ago.¹

Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON described the new text of the Bradford history that he was then preparing. This was published in 1952 by Alfred A. Knopf.

¹ The suggested possible exhibits to be installed in the Islesford Museum was taken from "Report of Visit to Islesford Museum, Little Cranberry Island, Acadia National Park," and submitted to the Regional Director by J. Paul Hudson, Museum Administrator.

April Meeting, 1951

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held, at the invitation of Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., at No. 2 Gloucester Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 April 1951, at a quarter before nine o'clock. Due to the illness of the President, the Vice-President, the Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT, took the chair.

The records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The Vice-President reported the death on 2 March 1951 of GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS, a Resident Member, and that on 5 April 1951 of WILLIAM GWINN MATHER, a Corresponding Member.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters from Mr. GORDON THAXTER BANKS, Mr. BUCHANAN CHARLES, Mr. I. BERNARD COHEN, Mr. DENNIS ALOYSIUS DOOLEY, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, Mr. DAVID MILTON KENDALL McKIBBIN, Mr. DAVID THOMPSON WATSON McCORD, the Reverend RICHARD DONALD PIERCE and Mr. VERNON DALE TATE accepting election to Resident Membership; from the Reverend ARTHUR ADAMS accepting election to Non-Resident Membership; from Mr. MARION VERNON BREWINGTON accepting election to Corresponding Membership, and from Mr. JULIAN PARKS BOYD and Mr. DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN accepting election to Honorary Membership.

Mr. STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, of Boston, the Reverend ROBERT DALE RICHARDSON, of Concord, Mr. DOUGLAS SWAIM BYERS, of Andover, Mr. EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON, of Sturbridge, were elected Resident Members, and Mr. HENRY BERTON, of Nobleboro, Maine, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Reverend JOSEPH RAPHAEL FRESE, S.J., then read the following paper:

Early Parliamentary Legislation on Writs of Assistance

"An Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments of His Majestyes Customes and Subsidyes"

12 Car. II c. 19

1660

NOTHING occurs more constantly throughout the whole controversy over the writs of assistance than the question of their legality. Whether it was a lawyer arguing their issuance or a merchant defying their use or simply the court wondering over their validity, the constant thought and thread throughout is the interpretation of the laws of Parliament and their import to the American scene. In fact, the very importance of the fight over the writs of assistance lies in this: that it was not a petty struggle over temporary smuggling or an evasion of the law; it was a questioning of the law itself. It might be wise, then, at least to look at the laws which were advanced as a foundation for the writs of assistance.

There are three laws commonly mentioned in the early controversy:¹ "An Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments of His Majestyes Customes and Subsidyes";² "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customes";³ and finally, "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade."⁴

It is extremely difficult to get behind the scenes of legislation passed

¹ As far as can be determined these were the only three acts dealing with the writs of assistance. The discussion of "An Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments" will bring out how little power the customs officials really had. The only previous act relating to the problem was 28 Hen. VI. c. 5 which granted a writ of trespass to merchants who were "aggrieved" by the extortions of customs officials by seizures and arrests. They were empowered to recover 40 pounds. *Statutes of the Realm* ([London], 1810-1822), II. 356-357. Cf. 11 Hen. VI c. 16, *ibid.*, II. 288; also "An Acte lymiting the tymes for laying on Lande Marchandise from beyonde the Seas, and touching Customes for Sweete Wynes," 1 Eliz. c. 11, *ibid.*, IV. 372-374.

Edward Channing in *A History of the United States* (New York, 1905-1925), III. 3, notes that in 1621 the House of Commons had been requested "that Writs of Assistance be not so frequently granted to Sheriffs." This seems to be a writ of possession, not a writ of assistance to customs officials. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 26 March 1621, I. 574.

² 12 Car. II c. 19, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 250.

³ 14 Car. II c. 11, *ibid.*, v. 393-397.

⁴ 7 & 8 Gul. III c. 22, *ibid.*, VII. 103-107.

even in modern times. It is just about impossible when we turn to that hopeful English spring of 1660 when Charles II was invited back to his father's throne. The *Journals of the House of Commons* and the *Journals of the House of Lords* are as bare as the Hubbard cupboard. Debates and committee reports are scattered and unsatisfying.⁵ Nor are the other collected speeches of much additional help. But from the aggregate we can gather some dates and a few hints on the "Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments of His Majestyes Customes and Subsidyes."⁶

The new English Parliament opened its sessions on 25 April 1660. With a nation alternating between new hope and old fear and in the throes of the political turmoil the tottering Commonwealth had left it, there were obviously many points besides revenue clamoring for immediate settlement: the state of the nation, amnesty and an act of oblivion, the very power of Parliament itself. But all nations and kings, particularly new ones, are natively concerned with revenue and it was not long before the Parliament of 1660 began its earnest discussion of ways and means of income.⁷ There were poll assessments and loans, excise and customs, temporary measures and long-range planning. There were laws of policy, as the "Act for the Encourageing and increasing of Shipping and Navigation";⁸ and laws of very practical practice, as the "Act for the speedy Provision of Money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this kingdome both by Land and Sea."⁹ Of all this we are immediately concerned with the legislation on the customs service, for it was in a very practical act on the collection of the customs revenue that mention was first made of a search warrant for customs officials,¹ which was to be the basis of the whole writs of assistance controversy.

⁵ V., e.g., *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons from the Restoration to the Present Time* (London, 1742-1744), I; *The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords from the Restoration in 1660 to the Present Time* (London, 1742-1743), I; *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* (London, 1806-1820), IV; *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England from the Earliest Times to the Restoration of King Charles II* (London, 1762-1763), XXII, XXIII; cf. Leo Francis Stock (ed.), *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America* (Washington, D. C., 1924-), I.

⁶ 12 Car. II c. 19, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 250, which will form the basis of the discussion in this section.

⁷ Cf. David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (Oxford, 1934), I. 155-159.

⁸ 12 Car. II c. 18, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 246-250.

⁹ 12 Car. II c. 9, *ibid.*, v. 207-225.

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 2, footnote 1. For a warrant of seizure with power to overcome resistance see *Journals of the House of Commons*, 16 May 1660, VIII. 27.

It is possible that the idea of a search warrant for customs officers came from the surveyor general of the customs himself. At least we know he presented a petition to the House of Lords which was read and referred to the committee of petitions on 18 May 1660.² His petition to the House of Commons was referred, on 28 May, to a committee set up to "prepare a Bill or Bills for Excise and Customs, in such a Way as may be most for Advancing of Trade, and best Advantage of the Publick. . . ."³ This influence of the surveyor general, of course, is only a surmise for there was another petition—one from the "Farmers of the Customs and Excise in Ireland"—which was also referred to the Commons committee.⁴ Besides, the committee was to "have Power to send for Persons and Papers. . . ." and with so many men on the committee interested in trade, the idea of a search warrant might have occurred to any of them.⁵

Throughout June and July the customs and revenue naturally came in for a good deal of discussion in committee and on the floor of the House of Commons.⁶ By the end of June, the committee on excise and customs had been granted permission to hold their own sessions on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday even though the Commons resolved itself into a grand committee to consider the "Act takeing away the Court of Wards and Liveries."⁷ But all this discussion on revenue seems to have been a matter of routine: granting a subsidy of tonnage and poundage⁸ and setting up the "Rates of Merchandize."⁹ Even by the end of July there seems to

² *Journals of the House of Lords*, 18 May 1660, XI. 33.

³ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 28 May 1660, VIII. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The Commons committee was listed as: "Col. Birch, Mr. Pryn, Mr. Annesley, Mr. Finch, Mr. Gott, Mr. Weston, Mr. Knightly, Sir Wm. Doyley, Mr. Earneley, Sir Auth. Irby, Mr. Bainton, Mr. Powell, Sir John Potts, Mr. Francis Gerrard, Mr. Clapham, Sir Tho. Belhouse, Col. White, Col. Jones, Col. King, Mr. Jolliffe, Mr. Foley, Mr. Swale, Col. Bowyer, Mr. Ellison, Mr. Rich, Mr. Fowell, Lord Aurigier, Mr. Smyth, Alderman Fredrick, Sir John Pelham, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Andrews, or any Three of them. . . ." *Ibid.*

⁶ V., e.g., *Journals of the House of Commons*, 23 May 1660, VIII. 44; 30 May, p. 49; 1 June, p. 52; 8 June, p. 59; 12 June, p. 62; 19 June, p. 68; 20 June, p. 69-70; 22 June, p. 72; 23 June, p. 73; etc. *passim* to 25 July, p. 102. V.e., subsequent citations.

⁷ The full title was: "An Act takeing away the Court of Wards and Liveries and Tenures in Capite and by Knights Service and Purveyance, and for setting a Revenue upon his Majesty in Lieu thereof." 12 Car. II c. 24, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 259-266.

⁸ "A Subsidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage and other summes of Money payable upon Merchandize Exported and Imported." 12 Car. II c. 4, *ibid.*, v. 181-183.

⁹ "The Rates of Merchandizes," *ibid.*, v. 184-203.

have been no discussion of search warrants. Colonel Birch, chairman of the committee on customs and excise, reported "certain Order, Directions, and Allowances, for the Advancement of Trade, and Encouragement of the Merchant; for regulating as well of the Merchants in making due Entrie and just Payments of their Customs, as of the Officers in all the Ports of this Kingdom, in the faithful discharge of their Duty. . . ." ¹ But these were general rules for the customs service and contained nothing about warrants for search. ² As a matter of fact there is only one mention of search at all:

XXII. The under Searcher or other Officers of Gravesend, having power to visite and search any Ship outward bound, shall not wthout just & reasonable cause deteyne any such ship under colo^r of searching the goods therein laden above three tides after her arrivall at Gravesend under paine of losse of their officee & rendring damage to the Merc^t & Owner of the Ship And the Searcher or other Officer of the Custome House in any of the out ports having power to search & visite any ship outward bound, shall not wthout just & reasonable cause deteyne any such ship und^r Colo^r of Searching the goods therein laden above one tyde after the sd Ship is fully laden & ready to set saile, under paine of losse of the office of such offender & rendring damage to the Merchant & Owner of y^e ship. ³

But this was just regular customs service and the power of search was hardly extensive. It is certainly not what caused the controversy over the writs of assistance.

The "Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments" with its search warrant may have had a more immediate occasion. On 4 August the Commons were informed that some customable goods had been smuggled by a creek near Bow and "lodged at a Merchant's House there. . . ." The sergeant at arms was ordered to seize the goods and summon the merchant to attend a committee of the House at two o'clock in the afternoon. The committee, in turn, was ordered to examine the matter and report the facts to the House of Commons. ⁴ This report may have been lost in the press of business; but it seems to be connected with the incident reported one month later.

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 26 July 1660, VIII. 103.

² "Certain Rules Orders Direcons & Allowances for the Advancement of Trade and encouragem^t of the Merchant, as also for the Regulating as well of y^e Merchants in making due Entryes & just payment of their Customes, as of the Offic^rs in all the Ports of this Kingdom in the faithfull discharge of their dutie," *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 203-205.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 4 August 1660, VIII. 111.

On Thursday, 6 September, the House of Commons was informed "that great Quantities of *Spanish* Tobacco, lately imported, have been landed, and secretly conveyed away by several persons, without due Entry, or paying of Custom or Excise; to the Defrauding of his Majesty, and Prejudice of the Law. . . ." It was proposed that the sergeant at arms of the House by himself or his deputies "do forthwith search for, seize, inventory, and secure, the said Tobaccos, wherever they shall be found. . . ." It was a large order for an officer of a legislative chamber and hardly seems in keeping with his official character. For this or other reasons the Commons did not like the resolution either, and voted it down 99 to 61. It was resolved, however, "That the Commissioners for the Excise do forthwith take notice of this Information; and, according to their Duty, and the Powers they are intrusted with, to make a Seizure of the said Tobaccco. . . ." ⁵

Had the tobacco been seized as envisioned by the first resolution, the whole incident might have passed over and the customs service continued in its usual way. But two days later, on Saturday, we have a further report: "A Certificate from the Commissioners of the Excise was this Day read, touching *Spanish* Tobaccos in the House of Mr. *James Haberthwaite* of *London* Merchant, who keeps his Doors against the Officers employed by the said Commissioners to search for, and secure, the same. . . ." ⁶

The very same afternoon a bill was introduced "impowering the Commissioners of Excise and Customs to put certain Matters in Execution." The bill, providing search warrants for customs officials, was read for the first and second time and sent to the grand committee.⁷ Two days later, Sir Heneage Finch reported from the grand committee certain amendments which were twice read and agreed upon.⁸ In the afternoon "A Bill to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majesty's Customs and Subsidies, was this Day read the Third time; and, upon the Question, passed." It was then sent up to the House of Lords.⁹

The Lords, too, had been considering various measures during this long summer of 1660,¹ but the important bill providing search warrants

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 September 1660, VIII. 154.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8 September 1660, VIII. 159.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10 September 1660, VIII. 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹ V., e.g., *Journals of the House of Lords*, 17 May 1660, XI. 31; 18 May, pp. 32-33; 19 May, p. 34; 21 May, p. 34; 24 May, pp. 35, 39, 40; 25 May, pp. 40-41; 28 May, p. 44; 29 May, p. 45; 21 June, pp. 71-72; 16 July, p. 92; 17 July, p. 95; 18 July, p. 96; 19 July, p. 97; 21 July, p. 100; 23 July, p. 101; 24 July, p. 105; 27 July, p. 108; 28 July, pp. 109-110; 30 July, p. 110; 31 July, p. 112; 7 August, p. 119; 13 August, p. 126; 14 August, p. 127; 18 August, p. 133; 8 September, p. 164; 10 September, p. 165.

for customs officials did not come to hand until very close to the fall recess. As a matter of fact, the session had been scheduled to end on 8 September,² but the Commons had requested the Lords to beg the King for a postponement, which had been granted.³ There was little time and apparently as little disposition in the House of Lords to debate the matter of search warrants. On Monday afternoon, 10 September, "An Act to prevent Frauds and Concealments of His Majesty's Customs and Subsidies" was read three times and "The Question being put, 'Whether this Bill shall pass as a Law?' It was Resolved in the Affirmative."⁴

On Thursday of that same week, the King came down to the House of Peers, sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to give notice to the House of Commons, who came up bringing with them three bills. After a short address their speaker presented them to the King for his assent. One of them was the "Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments of His Majestyes Customes and Subsides."

"Then His Majesty gave Command for the passing of these Bills following; the Clerk of the Crown reading the Titles, and the Clerk of the Parliaments pronouncing the Royal Assent. . . . 'Le Roy le veult.'"⁵ The same day Parliament adjourned.⁶

Whether a public bill would have been passed to remedy a specific instance without previous discussion or request by the customs officials (such as the petition of the surveyor general) may well be questioned. But the "Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments" certainly reeks of Spanish tobaccoes and James Haberthwaite holding his doors against the officers.

The act is so important to subsequent discussion that it should be quoted in full.

Be it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled That if any person or persons at any time after the first day of September One thousand six hundred and sixty shall cause any Goods for which Custome Subsidy or other duties are due or payable by vertue of the Act passed this Parliament Entituled (A Subsidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage and other Summes of money payable upon Merchandize exported and imported) to be landed or conveyed away without due entry thereof first made, and the Customer or Collector or his Deputy agreed with, That then and in such case upon

² *Ibid.*, 31 August 1660, XI. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, 8, 9 September 1660, XI. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 September 1660, XI. 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 13 September 1660, XI. 171.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

Oath thereof made before the Lord Treasurer or any of the Barons of the Exchequer or cheife Magistrate of the Port or Place where the offence shall be committed, or the place next adjoyning therunto, it shall be lawfull to and for the Lord Treasurer or any of the Barons aforesaid or cheife Magistrate of the Port or Place where the offence shall be committed or the Place next adjoyning thereunto to issue out a Warrant to any person or persons thereby enableing him or them with the assistance of a Sheriffe Justice of Peace or Constable to enter into any House in the day time where such Goods are suspected to be concealed, and in case of resistance to breake open such Houses, and to seize and secure the same goods soe concealed, And all Officers and Ministers of Justice are hereby required to be aiding and assisting thereunto.

Provided alwayes That noe House shall be entred by vertue of this Act unlesse it be within the space of one moneth after the offence supposed to be committed.

Provided alsoe That this Act shall continue in Force until the end of the first Session of the next Parliament and noe longer.

Provided alsoe That if the Information whereupon any House shall come to be searched shall prove to be false, that then and in such case the party injured shall recover his full damages and costs against the Informer by Action of Trespasse to bee therefore brought against such Informer.⁷

There are several things to be noted about this act. In the first place the warrant was to be issued only upon oath that customable goods had been landed without payment. And if the information was false then the party injured was to recover full damages against the informer. Besides, the search had to be made within one month after the offense was committed (which may have been one reason for rushing the bill through Parliament). Furthermore, the warrant was good only in the day time and only with the assistance of a local official—a sheriff, justice of the peace, or constable. But the warrant could be issued to anyone and in case of resistance gave authority to break into suspected houses.

Although originally in force only until the next session of Parliament, the act was subsequently re-enacted and made permanent.⁸

⁷ 12 Car. II c. 19, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 250.

⁸ "An Act for confirming Publique Acts," 13 Car. II c. 7, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 309-310; "An Act for setleing the Revenue on His Majestie for His Life which was setled on His late Majestie for His Life," 1 Jac. II c. 1, *ibid.*, vi. 1; "An Act for making good Deficiencies & for preserving the Publick Credit," 1 Ann. c. 7, *ibid.*, viii. 40-48; "An Act for reviving continuing and appropriating certain Duties upon several Commodities to be exported and certain Duties upon Coals to be waterborn and carried coastwise and for granting further Duties upon Candles for Thirty two Years to raise Fifteen hundred thousand Pounds by Way of a Lottery for the Service of the Year One thousand seven hundred and eleven and for suppressing such unlawful Lotteries and such Insurance Offices as are therein mentioned," 9

This was a search warrant indeed but it was all very specific and very limited. It may have satisfied the Commissioners of Customs or it may have prompted them to make another move to enlarge their powers.

Parliament reassembled on 6 November 1660.⁹ On Monday, the nineteenth of the same month "The humble Petition of *Christopher Metcalfe*, Surveyor General of his Majesty's Customs, was read"¹ in the House of Commons. This time we have no record of a similar petition to the House of Lords. Perhaps the surveyor general had learned a good deal of lobbying procedure since the first session.

It seems that some goods which were detained for want of customs payment had been forcibly rescued and the customs officers resisted "in doing their Duties."² What remedy the petition was requesting we are not told; but it was referred to a committee who were ordered to send for all the people concerned in the case and were told to examine the matter of fact and to report to the House. Sir George Downing, who was long prominent in mercantile affairs and is credited with furthering the Navigation Act of 1660,³ was given special care of the business.⁴

On Saturday, Sir George reported from the committee the state of fact but we are not given too clear a picture of what actually happened. It seems that some "Persons, called Smugglers, in conveying away secretly several Goods"⁵ had given the customs officials a rather rough time of it. At all events, the House of Commons seemed to be quite moved by the account and took the action of several resolutions.

Ann. c. 6, *ibid.*, IX. 366-384; "An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues which were settled to pay off Principal and Interest on the Orders made forth on four Lottery-Acts passed in the ninth and tenth years of her late Majesty's Reign; and for redeeming certain Annuities payable on Orders out of the Hereditary Excise, according to a former Act in that Behalf; and for establishing a General yearly Fund, not only for the future Payment of Annuities at several Rates, to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of *England*, and redeemable by Parliament, but also to raise Monies for such Proprietors of the said Orders as shall choose to be paid their Principal and Arrears of Interest in ready Money; and for making good such other Deficiencies and Payments as in this Act are mentioned; and for taking off the Duties on Linseed imported, and *British* Linen exported," 3 Geo. I c. 7, *Statutes at Large* (London, 1763), V. 103-119.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 6 November 1660, VIII. 175; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 6 November 1660, XI. 176.

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 November 1660, VIII. 186.

² *Ibid.*, 23 November 1660, VIII. 191.

³ Lawrence Averell Harper, *The English Navigation Laws* (New York, 1949), 57-58.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 November 1660, VIII. 186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 November 1660, VIII. 191.

In the first place the committee, who had reported, was ordered to prepare suitable remedies "for preventing the like Inconveniences for the future." One wonders if the "Inconvenience" was the lack of a general search warrant. If the customs officials had to go through the process outlined in the "Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments," the smugglers may well have managed to keep one step ahead of them. The committee was also urged to make the customs revenue more certain and settled, and finally, to consider a bill prepared for that purpose in the hands of Sir Wm. Vincent.

The Commons was also determined to punish the offenders. His Majesty's attorneys were "desired to take notice of this Riot; and to take effectual Order, that the Rioters be proceeded with in the King's Bench, and in the Court of Exchequer, according to Law." Furthermore, a delegation was sent to the chief justice of the King's Bench to give him an account of the affair and to request his "special Care, that Justice may be done upon the Offenders." The lord chief baron of the Exchequer was also to be informed and desired "that his Majesty's Duties for Customs be duly answered," that the criminals be prosecuted and "that the Goods in Question be not restored."⁶

Just what the committee decided about the bill or exactly what the bill was about, we do not know. "A bill for better gathering of the Customs" was reported on 7 December among the bills which were still to be considered.⁷

But the session was on its last legs. Parliament was to be dissolved on 29 December and with a couple of days holiday at Christmas there was little time to do anything but the essentials. Even as it was, candles had to be brought in for some evening sessions.⁸ Of course, it might well have been that the Commons were not interested in giving any more power to the customs officials. The bill may have been killed in committee. But whether it was time or disinclination, the bill was never enacted. The customs officials had gotten all the assistance they could for the present.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 December 1660, VIII. 201.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, 22 December 1660, VIII. 222, 225.

*"An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating
Abuses in his Majesties Customes"*

14 Car. II c. 11

1662

While the legislation on search warrants enacted by the first Parliament of Charles II is fairly clear, that of his second Parliament is a little more confusing. Perhaps it is because this Parliament was much more to the King's liking and more responsive to his wishes and hence more vague and general in its legislation. Perhaps the opponents of the royal prerogative lacked the intelligent leadership to perceive the full implication of the general phrases and vague terms employed in legislative enactments. Whatever the reasons, we have a corresponding lack of certitude on this second legislation concerning writs of assistance. We should, however, find out what we can.

After elections, a new Parliament opened on Wednesday, 8 April 1661,¹ and like all Parliaments, particularly those of the Stuarts, soon started a discussion of the revenue.² What became a particular concern for them (and for a slightly different reason particularly concerns our present discussion) was the discrepancy between the actual revenue returns and the income planned by the previous Parliament. Sir Philip Warwick was ordered to report to the House of Commons "the State of the Particulars," in order that any deficiency in His Majesty's revenue might be considered.³ On 18 June 1661, he reported that the customs, and excise, and crown lands, and wine licenses, and so on, would all fall short of the estimated value and that the "Total of the Defects" would be "Two hundred Sixty-five thousand Pounds." For his part, "he recommended very earnestly the Laws for coercive Powers to be strengthened." The Commons in turn ordered a committee appointed "to inspect and examine the Business of the King's Majesty's Revenue, and the Particulars proposed to make it up." The committee was empowered to set up sub-committees, receive petitions "And to send for Persons, Papers, Witneses, and Records."⁴

The committee had much to occupy their energies⁵ and were finally

¹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 8 April 1661, XI. 240; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 8 April 1661, VIII. 245.

² V., e.g., *Journals of the House of Commons*, 11 May 1661, VIII. 247; 14 May, pp. 249, 252; 21 May, p. 257, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, 13 June 1661, VIII. 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 June 1661, VIII. 273-274.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 June 1661, VIII. 275; 22 June, p. 278; 27 June, pp. 282, 283.

ordered to sit *de die in diem* until they had finished.⁶ How much time was devoted to a discussion of strengthening the "Laws for coercive powers" is not known; but it is known that the committee "had conferred with the Officers of the Custom and Excise, and his Majesty's Surveyor General [who had petitioned the previous Parliament for powers], and the Auditors of the Revenue, and others who were best able to give Information concerning the Particulars, whereof his Majesty's Revenue, was to be made up." The conclusion was much the same as that previously advanced by Sir Philip Warwick "that the Defects [of the revenue] . . . amounted to near Three hundred thousand Pounds; and that new Powers should be added for the better bringing in of the Revenue." The Commons resolved to take up the matter the very next day in a grand committee.⁷

The next day, Sir Robert Atkins was made chairman of the discussion, replacing the Speaker, Sir Edward Turner.⁸ "After long and serious debate," the Commons had made these resolves: to advance the King's revenue by a general excise tax on all ale and beer; to levy "by way of Poll"; and, finally, to continue the discussion at the next meeting of Parliament (on Monday) "to settle the Proportions."⁹ There is no hint that any of this involved tightening the revenue service—much less descended into particulars such as the writs of assistance. The Commons seemed much more concerned in settling revenue policy than in strengthening the "coercive Powers."

There was no report on the revenue discussions (if there were any) until the following Thursday and then only to say that no resolution had been taken.¹ There was a good deal of subsequent discussion—impositions on salt, paper and parchment were considered—but there was no definite decision.² At the end of July, Parliament adjourned³ having resolved to "take into Consideration the Advance of the King's Majesty's Revenue" "at the First time of their meeting after this Recess."⁴

Parliament reassembled on Wednesday, 20 November 1661, and the King in his opening speech reminded the "Gentlemen of the House of Commons" "of the crying Debts which do every Day call upon Me; of

⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 June 1661, VIII. 283; cf. 8 July, p. 294; 9 July, p. 296; 10 July, p. 296.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 July 1661, VIII. 299.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 8 May 1661, VIII. 245.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 July 1661, VIII. 301.

¹ *Ibid.*, 18 July 1661, VIII. 305. On Friday, Sir Robert Atkins had leave to go to the country. *Ibid.*, 19 July, p. 205.

² *Ibid.*, 20 July 1661, VIII. 307; 22 July, p. 308; 23 July, p. 309.

³ *Ibid.*, 30 July 1661, VIII. 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 26 July 1661, VIII. 313.

some necessary Provisions which are to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom; of the great Sum of Money that should be ready to discharge the several Fleets when they come Home; and for the necessary Preparations that are to be made for the setting out new Fleets to Sea against the Spring. . . .”⁵ When the Speaker “reported” to the Commons the “effect” of His Majesty’s speech, it was resolved to take into consideration the advance of the King’s revenue “the first publick Business To-morrow Morning.”⁶

Thereafter the pressing problem was not the reorganization of the customs service nor the writs of assistance, but the immediate sum to be “speedily raised for Supply of the King’s Majesty’s present Occasions.”⁷ It was not until the middle of January that the Commons got around to the “Bill for preventing Frauds and Abuses to his Majesty, in relation to his Duties of Customs.” It was read for the first time on 18 January.⁸

When the bill was read the second time a proviso was offered, penalizing those officers of the customs who held up anyone by putting him out of his turn, or who overcharged, or who denied or delayed a proper customs certificate, or who even detained the goods or merchandise of anyone without just cause. Furthermore, a committee was set up to consider the bill,⁹ and, besides being empowered to receive proposals for the advance of His Majesty’s customs, they were

⁵ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 20 November, XI. 332–333.

⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 20 November 1661, VIII. 316.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 November 1661, VIII. 317; cf. 22 November, pp. 317, 318; 23 November, p. 318; 27 November, p. 321; 4 December, p. 325; 6 December, p. 326; 9 December, p. 328; 10 December, p. 328, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 18 January 1661/62, VIII. 347.

⁹ The Committee consisted of “Sir Phil. Warwick, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary Morris, Mr. John Ashburnham, Mr. Edw. Seymour, Sir Edw. Seymour, Mr. Fane, Mr. Phillips, Sir John Duncomb, Sir John Nicholas, Mr. Nicolas, Sir Wm. Lowther, Mr. York, Sir John Goodrick, Sir Tho Strickland, Mr. Henry Coventry, Lord Bruce, Mr. Strickland, Sir Clement Fisher, Sir John Holland, Serjeant Charlton, Mr. Knight, Mr. Marvill, Mr. Sam Trelawney, Mr. Birch, Mr. Clifford, Mr. Rigby, Sir Allen Broderick, Sir Richard Ford, Mr. Vice Chamberlain [Sir George Carteret], Mr. Cofferer [William Ashburnham], Sir Clem. Throckmorton, Mr. Henry Seynour, Lord Fanshaw, Mr. Phillips, Sir Robert Howard, Lord Cornbury, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Prynne, Colonel Fretchville, Sir Wm. Fleetwood, Mr. Goodrick, Mr. Fra. Finch, Mr. Tho. Coventry, Sir Clifford Clifton, Sir Rich. Franklyn, Sir Humph. Bennet, Sir Ralph Banks, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Tho. Meres, Sir Anth. Irby, Mr. Jonathan Trelawney, Sir Allen Apsley, Mr. Kirkby, Mr. Phillips, Sir Hen Puckering, alias Newton, Mr. Newton, Mr. Milward, Colonel Windham, Colonel Sandys, Sir Tho. Tompkins, Lord de le Spencer, Sir Robert Holt, Dr. Birkinhead, Mr. Wren, Sir Ja. Smith, Mr. Spry, Mr. Culliford, Sir Tho. Lee, Sir Tho. Chute, Sir Chichester Wray, Sir John Shaw, Mr. Wandesford, Mr. Ciscowen, Mr. John Churchill, Mr. Milward, Mr. Gilby, Mr. Mountague, Sir Gilbert Gar-

to inquire into the Number and Quality of the Officers belonging to the Customs, and their Salaries; and how they hold their Places; and How they have demeaned themselves therein; and who are fit to be removed or continued; and to take into Consideration such Informations and Complaints as shall be offered against any of them, or touching any Frauds or Abuses in the Customs; and to consider of any Proposals, how the Officers may be limited and regulated, and their Fees ascertained; and to bring in a Table of such Fees as they are to receive from the Merchants; and further to consider how the Charge in collecting and receiving the Customs may be lessened; and to receive any other Informations and Complaints that shall be made, or Proposals that shall be tendered, for the Advantage of the King, or Ease of the People, in relation to the Levying of the Customs. . . .¹

The whole temper of the discussion seems to be the restriction of the Officers' powers and not their enlargement. Nothing is said about granting additional searching powers and a good deal is said about "how the Officers may be limited and regulated." It may be that this Parliament was to grant general search warrants to customs officials, but it would not be gathered from this passage in the *Journals of the House of Commons*.

This committee on "Frauds and Abuses" seems to have lapsed or dissolved into the subcommittee to consider customs fees,² for on 4 March it was ordered revived and told to sit *de die in diem*. When the bill on frauds was finally reported on 14 March, there were a few amendments,

rard, Mr. Orme, Mr. Garraway, Sir John Robinson, Sir Wm. Thompson, Mr. Jolliff, Mr. Broome Whorwood, Sir Solomon Swale, Mr. Morton, Mr. Windham, Mr. Wm. Sandys, Mr. Westphaling, Sir Courtney Poole, Lord Angier, Sir Cha. Harbord, Mr. Harbord, Sir Tho. Smith, Mr. Smyth, Sir Tho. Leigh, Mr. John Jones, Sir Tho. Gore, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Bulteele, Mr. Chetwind, Colonel Robinson, Sir Hen. North, Mr. Jolly, Sir Geo. Ryve, Mr. George Mountague, Sir Rich. Everard, Sir Anth. Cope, Sir Edm. Peirse, Mr. Crouch, Alderman Fowke, Sir Theo. Biddulph, Sir John Talbot, Sir Wm. Compton, Mr. Manwaring, Mr. Coriton, Sir Tho. Widdrington, Sir John Harrison, Sir Edw. Mosley, Sir John Brampton, Baron of Kinderton, Sir John Marley, Mr. Attorney of the Duchy [John Heath], Sir Edw. Harlow, Sir Tho. Littleton, Mr. Steward, Colonel Legg, Sir Ben. Ayloff, Mr. Higgons, Sir Wm. Batten: and all the members of this House, that come to the said committee, are to have voices thereat." *Ibid.*, 29 January 1661/62, VIII. 353, 354. The additional names have been supplied by Leo Francis Stock (ed.), *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America* (Washington, D. C., 1924-), I. 295-296.

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 January 1661/62, VIII. 353-354.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 6 February 1661/62, VIII. 359. The subcommittee on fees seems to have been quite busy and were ordered to sit despite the "sitting of any Grand Committee, or the Committee of Customs." *Ibid.*, 8 March, p. 382. Their work is evidenced by the tables of fees adopted before Parliament was prorogued. v. *ibid.*, 22 April, p. 412; 10 May, p. 426; 13 May, p. 428; 16 May, p. 432; 17 May, p. 434; 19 May, p. 435.

alterations, and provisos but we are not told what they were. Some further alterations were made, the whole agreed to and the bill ordered engrossed.³ A few days later the bill was read for the third time.⁴ During the subsequent debate one proviso was passed and another negatived, but nothing was reported about the powers of the officers.⁵ Again on the next day (21 March), the debate was resumed and while several amendments were proposed, there was nothing about search warrants. The bill was passed and sent to the House of Lords.⁶

The House of Lords received the bill, to prevent frauds in the customs, read it twice and gave it to a committee.⁷ There were several unknown amendments and alterations by the committee which were agreed to by the House and the bill was read the third time, passed,⁸ and sent back to the House of Commons.⁹ After a few false starts,¹ all of these new amendments from the House of Lords were agreed to by the House of Commons except one;² over this they asked for a conference.³ The Commons objected to the clause "which is concerning Offenders against that Act to be proceeded against by the Justices of the Peace."⁴ After consideration the Lords agreed to the original reading,⁵ and the bill was accepted in that form by the King on 19 May 1662.⁶

³ *Ibid.*, 14 March 1661/62, VIII. 387; v.e., 13 March, p. 386.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19 March 1661/62, VIII. 390; v.e., 17 March, p. 388.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1661/62, VIII. 391.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 21 March 1661/62, VIII. 391-392.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 21 March 1661/62, XI. 413; 22 March, p. 414; 24 March, pp. 416-417. The committee in the House of Lords consisted of: "Lord Privy Seal, Marq. Winton, L. Chamberlain, Comes Derby, Comes Bridgwater, Comes Bollinbrooke, Comes Portland, Comes Anglesey, Comes Carlile, Viscount Stafford, Abp. Yorke, Bp. Durham, Bp. Oxon., Bp. Sarum, Bp. Lyncolne, Bp. St. David's, Bp. Exon., Bp. Norwich, Bp. Hereford, Ds. Craven, Ds. Lucas, Ds. Lexington, Ds. Townsend, Ds. Ashley." *Journals of the House of Lords*, 24 March 1661/62, XI. 416-417.

Some time previously a petition of masters and owners of ships complaining of "an Oppression concerning Ballast" had been given to a committee but we hear no more about it. *Ibid.*, 17 June 1661, p. 282.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 17 April 1662, XI. 432.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 19 April 1662, XI. 433; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 April 1662, VIII. 410.

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 22 April 1662, VIII. 412; 24 April, p. 413.

² *Ibid.*, 28 April 1662, VIII. 415.

³ *Ibid.*, 3 May 1662, VIII. 418; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 3 May 1662, XI. 443.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 3 May 1662, XI. 444.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1662, XI. 471.

There was little discussion, then, that was explicitly reported by the House of Lords. The few phrases we do have indicate no questioning of the writ of assistance as proposed in this bill "for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customes." Oddly enough, this is a very important point, for, as will be discussed somewhat later, the Peers were very particular about who searched their houses and under what authority. Even when the Commons were willing to grant fairly general searching privileges to the King's officers, the Peers insisted that their houses be exempt from any such provision. It would indeed be strange, if the writ of assistance mentioned in this bill for preventing frauds was understood to be a more general search warrant than any other provided by Parliament, and the Peers, who fought every other general search measure, had nothing to report about this instance. It is an eloquent silence which leads one to question the interpretation of this bill as providing a general writ of assistance.

But what precisely did the bill provide in the way of search and search warrants? In the first place the power to search ships and vessels was quite general and was had in virtue of the customs office.

And be it hereby alsoe enacted That the said person or persons which are or shall be appointed for managing the Customes and Officers of His Majesties Customes and their Deputies are hereby authorized and enabled to goe and enter aboard any Ship or Vessel as wel Ships of War as Merchant Ships and from thence to bring on shoar all Goods prohibited or uncustomed except Jewels if they be Outwards bound and if they be Ships or Vessels Inwards bound from thence to bring on shoare into his Majesties Store house as aforesaid all smal Parcels of Fine Goods or other Goods which shall be found in Cabbins Chests Trunks or other small Package or in any private or secret place in or out of the Hold of the Ship or Vessell which may occasion a just suspicion that they were intended to be fraudelently conveyed away And all other sorts of Goods whatsoever for which the Dutyes of Tonnage and Poundage were not payed or compounded for within twenty dayes after the first Entry of the Ship to be put and remaine in the Store house aforesaid until his Majesties Duties thereupon be justly satisfied unlesse the said person or persons which are or shall be appointed by His Majesty for managing the Customs and Officers of the Customes shall see just cause to allow a longer time and that the said person or persons which are or shall be so appointed to manage the Customs and the Officers of the Customs and their Deputies may freely stay and remain aboard untill all the Goods are delivered and discharged out of the said Ships or Vessells . . .

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That in case after the clearing of any Ship or Vessel by the person or persons which are or shall be appointed by His Majesty for managing the Customes or any their Deputies and

discharging the Watchmen or Tidesmen from attendance thereupon there shall be found on board such Ship or Vessell any Goods Wares or Merchandizes which have beene concealed from the knowledge of the said person or persons which are or shall be so appointed to manage the Customes and for which the Customes Subsidy and other Dutyes due upon the Importation thereof have not beene paid then the Master Purser or other person taking charge of such Shipp or Vessell shall forfeit the sum of One hundred pounds . . .⁷

This was clear enough, and seems to have caused little dispute. The searching of vessels was not the problem. It was the authorization for the search of houses that was to cause all the difficulty. The clause reads as follows:

And it shall be lawfull to or for any person or persons authorized by Writt of Assistance under the Seale of his Majestyes Court of Exchequer to take a Constable Headborough or other Publique Officer inhabiting neare unto the place and in the day time to enter and go into any House Shop Cellar Ware-house or Room or other place and in case of resistance to breake open Doores Chests Trunks and other Package there to seize and from thence to bring any kind of Goods & Merchandize whatsoever prohibited and uncustomed and to put and secure the same in his Majesties Store house in the Port next to the place where such seizure shall be made.⁸

There are several things to be noted about these clauses and phrases. In the first place the search was to be conducted in virtue of a warrant and not in virtue of the office as was done on shipboard. The warrant was issued from the Court of Exchequer and was technically a writ of assistance. It was limited to daytime use and required the presence of a local official. It explicitly included the right to overcome resistance. The phrase that it was to "be lawfull to or for any person or persons" was restricted to customs officials by the sixteenth clause of the same act.⁹

⁷ 14 Car. II c. 11, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 394. Cf. the following paragraph on searching ships of war. They "shall be lyable to all Searches and other Rules which Merchants Ships are subject unto by the usage of His Majesties Custome house (victualling Bills & entring excepted) upon pain to forfeit One hundred pounds And upon refusal to make such Entries as aforesaid as wel Outwards as Inwards the said person or persons which are or shall be appointed for managing the Customes and Officers of His Majesties Customes and their Deputies shall and may freely enter and go on board all and every such Ship or Vessel of War and bring from thence on shoar into His Majesties Store house belonging to the Port where such Ship shall be all Goods and Merchandizes prohibited or uncustomed which shall be found aboard any such Ship as aforesaid." *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ "And forasmuch as it doth appeare by dayly experience that there are great Practises and Combinations betweene the Importers and Owners of Goods and Merchan-

The whole problem of the act, however, was not who had use of a writ of assistance but what was a writ of assistance. Was the writ a general standing warrant issued to each customs official once and for all which he could then use at his discretion anywhere to search for uncustomed goods? Or was it the specific writ envisioned by 12 Car. II c. 19 where an oath was required to start the process and the informer liable to suit for damages? Perhaps we can find out.

It is to be noted that this session of Parliament had been advised to strengthen the "Laws for coercive Powers" and to add "new Powers . . . for the better bringing in of the Revenue." Was this new warrant intended to be a vast extension over the old? There is nothing in the act to indicate that it was; nor, other than the phrases quoted, anything in the debates. On the other hand, there are a few things to indicate that it was not.

The enacting language and conditions set down are much the same in both laws:

12 Car. II c. 19

it shall be lawfull to and for the Lord Treasurer or any of the Barons aforesaid or cheife Magistrate of the Port or Place where the offence shall be committed or the Place next adjoyning thereunto to issue out a Warrant to any person or persons thereby enabling him or them with the assistance of a Sheriffe Justice of Peace or Constable to enter into any House in the day time where such Goods are suspected to be concealed, and in case of resistance to breake open such

14 Car. II c. 11

And it shall be lawfull to or for any person or persons authorized by Writt of Assistance under the Seale of his Majestyes Court of Exchequer to take a Constable Headborough or other Publique Officer inhabiting neare unto the place and in the day time to enter and go into any House Shop Celler Ware-house or Room or other place and in case of resistance to breake open Doores Chests Trunks and other Package there to seize and from thence to bring any kind of Goods & Merchan-

dizes and the Seizers and Informers with design and intent to defraud the force of the Law and His Majesty of His Duties and Customes Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid That no Ship or Shippes Goods Wares or Merchandize shall be seized as forfeited for or by reason of unlawfull Importation or Exportation into or out of this Kingdome of England Dominion of Wales or Port and Town of Berwick or any the Ports Members or Creeks thereunto belonging or for not payment of any Customes or Subsidies nowe due or hereafter to be due and payable to His Majestie but by the person or persons who are or shall be appointed by His Majestie to manage His Customes or Officers of His Majesties Customes for the time being or such other person or persons as shall be deputed and authorized thereunto by Warrant from the Lord Treasurer or Under Treasurer or by special Commission from His Majesty under the Great or Privy Seale And if any Seizure shall hereafter be made by any other person or persons whatsoever for any the Causes aforesaid such Seizure shall be void and of none effect Any Statute Law or Provision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." *Ibid.*, p. 397.

Houses, and to seize and secure the same goods soe concealed, And all Officers and Ministers of Justice are hereby required to be aiding and assisting thereunto.¹

dize whatsoever prohibited and uncus-tomed and to put and secure the same in his Majesties Store house in the Port next to the place where such seizure shall be made.²

Furthermore, 14 Car. II c. 11 was not just an enactment—or re-enactment—of the writ of assistance. It included a variety of measures intended to plug the holes in the navigation laws of the mercantile system: e.g., entries were to be made on oath, warships were subject to search, armed resistance to customs officials heavily penalized,³ and the provisions on English ships clarified. This could well cover any intention to broaden the powers of the customs officials. Besides, as we have seen,⁴ the Commons while strengthening the mercantile system seemed to want a restriction in the customs officials. Thus, in this act they tagged on the limitation of search and seizure to officers properly appointed.

Thus, too, the first act (12 Car. II c. 19) was not allowed to lapse but was continually re-enacted. If 14 Car. II c. 11 really intended a new and general search warrant and was meant to supersede the previous act, there would be no point in continually re-enacting the old outmoded form, and 12 Car. II c. 19 would have been allowed to die. But if one act was explained by the other, then they should both be re-enacted, as they were. Any general writ of assistance would have made 12 Car. II c. 19 completely anachronous; yet it was constantly passed as if it were an explanation of 14 Car. II c. 11.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

² *Ibid.*, p. 394.

³ An interesting case under this clause arose in America in April, 1768, concerning the brig *Lydia*. See the documents in the Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, Series 1, 465, 466. Compare the proposals of the Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland for the improvement of the revenue, 5 December 1768. *Ibid.*, 467.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 January 1661/62, VIII. 353-354; *supra*, pp. 21-22.

⁵ Cf. "An Act for confirming Publique Acts," 13 Car. II c. 7, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 309-310; "An Act for setleing the Revenue on His Majestie for His Life which was settled on His late Majestie for His Life," 1 Jac. II c. 1, *ibid.*, vi. 1; "An Act for making good Deficiencies & for preserving the Publick Credit," 1 Ann. c. 7, *ibid.*, VIII. 40-48; "An Act for reviving continuing and appropriating certain Duties upon several Commodities to be exported and certain Duties upon Coals to be water-born and carried coastwise and for granting further Duties upon Candles for Thirty two years to raise Fifteen hundred thousand Pounds by Way of a Lottery for the Service of the Year One thousand seven hundred and eleven and for suppressing such unlawful Lotteries and such Insurance Offices as are therein mentioned," 9 Ann. c. 6, *ibid.*, ix. 366-384; "An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues

Besides these points, we have a few other indications of the intentions of Parliament from the debate and enactment of other bills in the same session.

Unfortunately, there is no report of the debate or discussions on the confirmation of the previous act to prevent frauds (12 Car. II c. 19). It was included in a general confirmatory act⁶ and passed with no reported discussion of search warrants.⁷

The same is generally true of the bill for the improvement of the excise. Before Parliament adjourned in July, the Lord Treasurer was asked to send commissions to all the counties directed to the members of Parliament and the justices of the peace "to inspect the Revenue of the Excise upon Beer and Ale, and other Liquors; and to inform themselves, against the next Meeting of the Parliament, how the Excise came to fall short in the Proportion of Three hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* and how, for the future, it may be advanced with the most Ease to the People, and collected with the least Charge to his Majesty."⁸ But there was no subsequent discussion of search warrants as part of the plan, and the bill seems to have died in committee, for it was not passed until the next session.⁹

It is from the discussions of the militia bill or "An Act for ordering the

which were settled to pay off Principal and Interest on the Orders made forth on four Lottery-Acts passed in the ninth and tenth years of her late Majesty's Reign; and for redeeming certain Annuities payable on Orders out of the Hereditary Excise, according to a former Act in that Behalf; and for establishing a General yearly Fund, not only for the future Payment of Annuities at several Rates, to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of *England*, and redeemable by Parliament, but also to raise Monies for such Proprietors of the said Orders as shall choose to be paid their Principal and Arrears of Interest in ready Money; and for making good such other Deficiencies and Payments as in this Act are mentioned; and for taking off the Duties on Linseed imported, and *British* Linen exported," 3 Geo. I c. 7, *Statutes at Large* (London, 1763), v. 104-119.

⁶ "An Act for confirming Publique Acts," 13 Car. II c. 7, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 309-310.

⁷ Cf. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 13 May 1661, VIII. 247-248; 14 May, p. 249; 16 May, p. 252; 28 May, p. 260; 13 June, p. 270; 14 June, p. 271; 15 June, p. 272; 17 June, p. 273; 18 June, p. 284; 19 June, p. 275; 22 June, p. 278; 1 July, p. 287; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 2 July 1661, XI. 296; 3 July, p. 296; 3 July, p. 298; 6 July, p. 300; 8 July, p. 303.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 23 July 1661, VIII. 309; cf. 18 January 1661/62, p. 347; 22 January, p. 349; 23 January, p. 350; 28 January, p. 352; 3 February, p. 356; 7 February, p. 361; 18 February, pp. 367-368; 21 February, p. 370; 15 March, p. 387; 21 March, p. 393; 26 April 1662, p. 414; 28 April, p. 414; 7 May, p. 423.

⁹ "An Additionall Act for the better ordering and collecting the Duty of Excise and preventing the Abuses therein," 15 Car. II c. 11, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 488-492.

Forces in the several Counties of this Kingdom"¹ that we derive most of our light on the ideas of this Parliament concerning search warrants. The bill is important to us principally because we have some notation of the debate on the provisions for searching houses for arms.

The whole problem of military forces and arms had given Parliament a good deal of concern since the Restoration. The first Parliament of Charles had been mostly interested in paying salary arrears and disbanding the army.² The present Parliament seemed more concerned with the preservation of the royal person and royal prerogative. It early passed "An Act for Safety and Preservation of His Majesties Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious practices and attempts,"³ and not much later introduced the whole militia question which resulted eventually in a discussion of the search problem.

On 14 May 1661, Sir Heneage Finch, the King's solicitor general,⁴ and Sergeant Charlton were ordered to prepare a bill for settling the militia.⁵ It did not take long, for the bill was read for the first time three

¹ 14 Car. II c. 3, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 358-364.

² V., e.g., "An Act for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this Kingdome both by Land and Sea," 12 Car. II c. 9, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 207-225; "An Act for supplying and explaining certaine defects in an Act entituled An Act for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this kingdome both by Land and Sea," 12 Car. II c. 10, *ibid.*, pp. 225-226; "An Act for the speedy disbanding of the Army and Garrisons of this Kingdome," 12 Car. II c. 15, *ibid.*, pp. 238-241; "An Act for inabling the Souldiers of the Army now to be disbanded to exercise Trades," 12 Car. II c. 16, *ibid.*, pp. 241-242; "An Act for raising seaven-score thousand pounds for the compleate disbanding of the whole Army and paying off some part of the Navy," 12 Car. II c. 20, *ibid.*, pp. 250-251; "An Act for granting unto the Kings Majestie Fower hundred and twenty thousand pounds by an Assessment of three score and ten thousand pounds by the moneth for six moneths for disbanding the remainder of the Army, and paying off the Navy," 12 Car. II c. 27, *ibid.*, pp. 269-277; "An Act for further suplying and explaining certaine defects in an Act intituled An Act for the speedy provision of money for disbanding and paying off the forces of this kingdome both by land and sea," 12 Car. II c. 28, *ibid.*, pp. 277-282; *Journals of the House of Commons*, April 25, 1660 to 29 December 1660, VIII. 1-244, *passim*; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 25 April 1660 to 29 December 1660, XI. 1-239, *passim*.

³ 13 Car. II Stat. I, c. 1, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 304.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 8 May 1661, VIII. 245.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14 May 1661, VIII. 249. Both of these men had been prominent in the previous Parliament with bills involving search. Sir Heneage Finch had reported amendments from the grand committee for the bill to prevent frauds and concealments. *Ibid.*, 10 September 1660, VIII. 161; *supra*, p. 8. Both of them had been appointed to work on abolishing the Court of Wards. *Ibid.*, 21 December 1660, VIII. 220; cf. 23 November 1660, p. 189; 12 December, p. 204. In the present Parliament both were to be appointed (with Charlton as chairman) to help prepare a bill for granting "twelve hundred and three score thousand pounds" to the King. 13 Car.

days later.⁶ After the second reading on 21 May⁷ real, serious debate began. It was resolved to discuss the bill every morning at ten o'clock until its completion.⁸ There were occasional reports of "much Debate"⁹ with "little Progress"¹ or "some Progress"² or "further Progress,"³ but it became evident that a temporary measure would have to be passed if anything at all was to be accomplished before the first adjournment.⁴ This temporary measure, "An Act declaring the sole Right of the Militia to be in King and for the present ordering & disposing the same,"⁵ was read and finally passed with amendments and provisos on 17 July.⁶ Within a week, the House of Lords had passed the bill⁷ and it was accepted by the King on the day of adjournment.⁸

Parliament had been reassembled about a month, and the House of Commons had reconstituted the committee on the militia bill,⁹ when the King sent a message to the House of Lords, "that, besides the Apprehensions and Fears that are generally Abroad, His Majesty hath received Letters from several Parts of the Kingdom, and also by intercepted Letters it does appear, that divers discontented Persons are endeavouring to raise new troubles, to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. . . ."¹ The Lords conferred with the Commons and a joint committee

II Stat. II, c. 3, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 325-348; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 27 November 1661, VIII. 321. Both were to be appointed to the committee on a temporary bill to regulate printing. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 26 July 1661, VIII. 313; cf. 25 July, p. 312. Charlton was also to be appointed to the committee on the bill for preventing frauds and abuses in the customs. *Ibid.*, 29 January 1661/62, p. 354.

⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 17 May 1661, VIII. 254.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 May 1661, VIII. 257.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 May 1661, VIII. 258.

⁹ E.g., *ibid.*, 17 June 1661, VIII. 273.

¹ E.g., *ibid.*, 18 June 1661, VIII. 274.

² E.g., *ibid.*, 17 June 1661, VIII. 273.

³ E.g., *ibid.*, 19 June 1661, VIII. 275; v.e., *ibid.*, 1 June, p. 264; 8 June, p. 267; 25 June, p. 280; 28 June, p. 284; 9 July, p. 296.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 16 July 1661, VIII. 303.

⁵ 13 Car. II Stat. I, c. 6, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 308.

⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 17 July 1661, VIII. 304.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 22 July 1661, XI. 317; cf. *ibid.*, 18 July, p. 313; 19 July, p. 314; 27 July, p. 323; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 27 July 1661, VIII. 314.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 30 July 1661, XI. 330; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 30 July 1661, VIII. 316.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 3 December 1661, VIII. 324; cf. *ibid.*, 6 December, p. 326.

¹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 December 1661, XI. 355.

was appointed to sit during the Christmas recess.² But beyond hearings the committee did little or nothing. It was too near and too like the Commonwealth. Ugly rumors got around about "a Plot to govern by an Army,"³ and as the Lords seemed unimpressed by the royal report, the joint committee dissolved as soon as Parliament reassembled.⁴ The committee of the Commons, however, "was very sensible of the real Danger; and hoped this House [of Commons] would be so too. . . ."⁵ It was in such an atmosphere that the Commons on the very next day resolved itself into a committee of the whole "to consider of the Militia; and also . . . such Proposals as shall be offered, for preventing the present Dangers, and securing the Peace of the Kingdom."⁶

The debate was quite extensive⁷ with some progress and occasionally "a good Progress"⁸ being made. There was even talk of finishing the bill about the middle of February,⁹ but it was still in committee when the King called the Commons up to Whitehall on 1 March.¹ We have no report of what the King said, but the Commons came back and resolved that the "Revenue, the Militia, and Highways, be first taken into Consideration, and in Order proceeded in: And that no other Business shall intervene, till these be finished."² Three days later the Commons finished the militia bill,³ and on 7 March it was ordered to be engrossed with its alterations and additions, amendments and provisos.⁴ Finally, after a little more debate, the bill was passed and carried up to the House of Lords.⁵

When the bill came up to the House of Lords,⁶ the search provisions were quite general: the lieutenants of the army or their deputies could

² *Ibid.*

³ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 10 January 1661/62, VIII. 342.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 7 January 1661/62, XI. 359; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 10 January 1661/62, VIII. 342.

⁵ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 10 January 1661/62, VIII. 342; cf. *ibid.*, 7 January, p. 341.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 January 1661/62, VIII. 343.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 11 January 1661/62, VIII. 343-344; 14 January, p. 345; 17 January, p. 347; 22 January, p. 349; 31 January, p. 355; 13 February, p. 363; 22 February, p. 371; 26 February, pp. 373-374.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 17 January, 1661/62, VIII. 347.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 February 1661/62, VIII. 363.

¹ *Ibid.*, 28 February 1661/62, VIII. 375; 1 March, pp. 375-376.

² *Ibid.*, 1 March 1661/62, VIII. 376.

³ *Ibid.*, 4 March 1661/62, VIII. 378; cf. *ibid.*, 6 March, p. 380.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 March 1661/62, VIII. 381.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1661/62, VIII. 384; 13 March, p. 386; 14 March, p. 387.

⁶ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 14 March 1661/62, XI. 407.

issue warrants to search for arms in the possession of anyone they considered dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. No time was excluded and no place. A local official was required to be present.⁷

In the House of Lords the bill was read for the first time on 20 March,⁸ but it was almost a month later before the bill was approved with some very important amendments.⁹ The Peers had balked at the general search provisions and added a proviso that severely limited the search of their own houses and even added some protection to others: "Provided that no such Search be made in any house or houses between Sun setting and Sun rising other then in Cities and Townes Corporate And that no house of any Peere of this Realme be searched but by immediate Warrant from His Majesty under His Sign Manual."¹ It seems the Lords wanted to exclude their houses from search except by immediate warrant of the King, and then exclude their country houses from all night searches.

With this and other amendments (which are of little concern for our discussion) the bill was shipped back to the House of Commons.² Here all these amendments were subjected to debate,³ and by 3 May the Commons had reached the amendment on search. They did not particularly care to see the houses of the Peers given so many exclusive privileges. Consequently, they sought to broaden the first half of the proviso to in-

⁷ "And for the better securing the Peace of the Kingdome be it further enacted and ordained and the respective Leiutenants or any two or more of theire Deputies are hereby enabled & authorized from time to time by Warrant under theire Hands and Seales to employ such Person or Persons as they shall thinke fitt (of which a Commissioned Officer and the Constable or his Deputy or the Tythingman or in the absence of the Constable and his Deputy and Tythingman some other Person bearing Office within the Parish where the search shall be shall be two) to search for and seize all Armes in the custody or possession of any person or persons whom the said Leiutenants or any two or more of theire Deputies shall judge dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdome and to secure such Armes for the service aforesaid and thereof from time to time to give Accounts to the said respective Leiutenants and in their absence as aforesaid or otherwise by their directions to their Deputies or any two or more of them." 14 Car. II c. 3, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 360.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 20 March 1661/62, XI. 412.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 17 April 1662, XI. 431; v.e., *ibid.*, 21 March 1661/62, XI. 413; 10 April 1662, p. 437; 11 April, p. 437; 14 April, p. 439; 15 April, p. 430; 16 April, p. 430.

¹ All amendments have been pieced together from the debates reported in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. See especially: *Journals of the House of Lords*, 12 May 1662, XI. 455; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 3 May 1662, VIII. 420; 5 May, p. 521.

² *Journals of the House of Lords*, 17 April 1662, XI. 431-432; 18 April, p. 432; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 18 April 1662, VIII. 409.

³ V., e.g., *Journals of the House of Commons*, 30 April 1662, VIII. 417; 3 May, p. 418-419.

clude more than the cities and corporate towns of the Commoners. They added the "Suburbs" and "Market Townes, and houses within the bills of Mortality."⁴ Then, perhaps for clarity's sake, they added this clause: "where it shall and may be lawfull to search in the night time by Warrant as aforesaid if the Warrant shall so direct and in case of resistance to enter by force."⁵

Instead of clearing up matters, however, the clause only engendered further doubts and debate. This added clause introduced into the bill for the first time the use of force in case of resistance in conducting a search. By explicitly making it lawful to use force in the nighttime the question naturally arose "Whether, in case of Resistance in the Day-time, there was sufficient Power given by the Act to enter into any House to make Search for Arms. . . ." The question was given over to a committee to consider and prepare a paragraph authorizing force in the daytime "if they find it necessary."⁶

On Monday, the next calendar day, the Committee reported they thought it was necessary and submitted this clause to the consideration of the House: "And that in all places and houses whatsoever where search is to be made as aforesaid it shall and may be lawfull in case of resistance to enter by force. . . ."⁷ The amendment was twice read and agreed to without a recorded vote.⁸ The fact that the Committee and House thought this explicit clause a necessary addition to make the use of force in the daytime lawful may be an indication that without such an explicit clause in any bill, the use of force was considered unlawful; or it may only mean that as force had been authorized for a night search, it was thought better for this bill, also, to make it explicitly lawful in the daytime.

The House of Commons then began a discussion of the second half of the proviso sent from the Peers which excluded all houses of the Peers from search except by an immediate warrant from the King. Again the Commons balked at such exclusive privileges. Various alterations were suggested to limit the exemption to the actual dwelling houses of the

⁴ The wording for these amendments has been taken from the *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 360, which differs from the account in the *Journals of the House of Commons*, e.g., 3 May 1662, VIII. 420, only in punctuation and capitalization.

⁵ *Idem, ibid.*

⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 3 May 1662, VIII. 420. The committee consisted of "Serjeant Charlton, Sir Tho. Meres, Mr. Coventry, and Sir Thomas Littleton." *Ibid.*

⁷ See footnote 4 *supra*.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 5 May 1662, VIII. 421.

Peers and to broaden the authority under which search could be made. The proviso was finally made to read

Provided that no such Search be made in any house or houses between Sun setting and Sun rising other then in Cities *and their Suburbs* and Townes Corporate *Market Townes and houses within the bills of Mortality where it shall and may be lawfull to search in the night time by Warrant as aforesaid if the Warrant shall so direct and in case of resistance to enter by force* And that no dwelling house of any Peere of this Realme be searched *by vertue of this Act* but by immediate Warrant from His Majesty under his Sign Manual *or in the presence of the Leiutenant or one of the Deputy Leiutenants of the same County or Riding And that in all places and houses whatsoever where search is to be made as aforesaid it shall and may be lawfull in case of resistance to enter by force.*⁹

There are many possibilities why the phrase "by Vertue of this Act" was added. It may have been just good legislative practice; it may have meant that the Commons wanted it understood that the houses of Peers could be subject to search under a particular local warrant; it may have meant that the Commons were conscious of the bitter fight with the Peers about a provision for search that had shelved the bill to regulate printing;¹ or it may have been that the Commons had in mind general writs of assistance. Perhaps it was a combination of all of these reasons. In view of the animosity aroused by the printing bill, it would be natural, if that was principally in the minds of the Commons. In the absence of any explicit mention of the writs of assistance, there is no way of telling if the Commons thought of them at all at this time; and only a consideration of the whole session of Parliament can give us any indication as to whether the Commons considered them general or not.

This was not the only amendment of this bill debated in the Commons,² but it is the only one that throws any light on what this session of Parliament thought of general search warrants, and/or writs of assistance. By Saturday, 10 May, the Commons had completed their discussions and sent a request to the House of Lords for a conference on the bill. It was

⁹ *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 360. The words in italics (which are supplied) are the additions of the House of Commons; the remainder was the original proviso of the House of Lords.

¹ See *infra*.

² For further debate see, e.g., *Journals of the House of Commons*, 6 May 1662, VIII. 421-422; 7 May, p. 423; 9 May, p. 424, and *supra*. One of the amendments offering particular difficulty was the assessment of the Peers; cf. *ibid.*, 9 May 1662, VIII. 424.

granted the same day in the "Painted Chamber."³ Sergeant Charlton principally conducted the discussions for the Commons and John, Lord Robartes, lord privy seal, for the Peers.⁴ On the following Monday a long report was made to the House of Lords on the results of the conference. Among other things, Sergeant Charlton in defending the position of the Commons had advanced the argument that "The Powers that were granted in this Act were such as never were granted by Parliament."⁵

While the power of search was not mentioned at that time, it is well to note that this bill was considered extraordinary. Besides, Sergeant Charlton did have something to say about the search of houses. After presenting the amendments adopted by the Commons,⁶ he had given these reasons for their adoption:

"He said, The Commons thought the Suburbs equally dangerous as Cities and Market Towns, and Houses within the Bills of Mortality as Towns Corporate. And as to the searching of the House of any Peer, they paid so much Respect, as to have it done in the Presence of Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant, being the chief Men in the County. The Reason, he said, was, That the Houses of Commoners were their Castles as well as the Lords Houses, and could not be broken open. But they were willing to part with their Privilege, though they had not many left, for the Public Safety.

"The Lords, he said, had greater Estates, and more to lose, than the Commons; and therefore were more concerned in the Public Safety; so as, if Arms were laid up in the House of a Peer, to stay until the King's Sign Manual cometh, might lose the Opportunity of taking the Arms, or preventing of a Design.

"Besides, the Lords had divers Houses where they did not reside, And if there were any Sanctuary known exempt from searching, it is probable such Places might be made dangerous Repositories; and yet they pay so much Respect to the Lords, as to have such Places searched in the Presence of such unto whom the Safety of the County is committed."⁷

Beneath a certain amount of parliamentary deference to the Lords, it is clear that the Commons did not much like the houses of the Peers to be

³ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 10 May 1662, VIII. 425; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 10 May 1662, XI. 453.

⁴ Stock, *op. cit.*, I. 292.

⁵ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 12 May 1662, XI. 455.

⁶ The word "Lord" was also to be left out of the "4th Line." It is difficult to see where this word would belong, except perhaps before "Lieutenant," a correction adopted in other sections of the bill, but may have been inserted here as this clause came from the Commons. *Journals of the House of Lords*, 12 May 1662, XI. 455; cf. *ibid.*, p. 453.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 12 May 1662, XI. 455.

completely exempt from the search warrant provided in the bill. It also seems clear that they considered their houses generally free from forcible search, a privilege they surrendered at this time only in the interests of the "Public Safety."

Much the same opinion of the security of their Houses was presented by the Speaker of the Commons at the end of the session when he was presenting a revenue bill for the King's approval.

"In the next Place, [he said] according to your Majesty's Commands, we have surveyed the wasted Revenue of the Crown; and, in Pursuance of our Promises, do humbly propound unto Your Majesty a fair Addition. We considered, that great Part of Your Majesty's Revenue is but for Life; and both that, and also Part of the rest, depends upon the Peace, the Trade, and Traffic of the Nation, and therefore may be much impaired by Wars with Foreign Nations. This put us upon the Search of something that might arise within our own Walls, and not be subject to such Contingencies. We pitched our Thoughts at last upon those Places where we enjoy our greatest Comforts and Securities, our Dwelling houses; and, considering even that Security is secured unto us by Your Majesty's Vigilance and Care in the Government; we have prepared a Bill, whereby we desire it may be enacted, That all Houses in this Kingdom, which are worth in Yearly Value above Twenty Shillings, and not inhabited by Almsmen, may pay unto Your Majesty, Your Heirs and Successors, Two Shillings Yearly for every Chimney-hearth in each House for ever."⁸

Allowing for a certain amount of sheer debate, the Commons seem to have been quite conscious of the implications of a general search warrant, and equally conscious that it was to be rarely granted. Keeping in mind the report of the King at Christmas time and how impressed the committee of the Commons had been with the "real Danger" of a revolution, one might well wonder if anything less than a threat to their peace—and hence also to their economy—would have forced the Commons to grant so broad a privilege. Even if this were not true, one could still question whether the Commons, or the Lords, after so much discussion on the right of search, would have parted with this privilege without any reported discussion, as would be the case if the writ of assistance in the bill to prevent frauds was understood to be a general search warrant with the right of forcible entry. The more so, if we look further and see how tenacious the Lords continued to be in protecting their houses from search.

In debating the amendments brought up from the House of Commons, the Lords were willing to make some concession about the search of their houses but were not willing to go as far as the Commons wanted to push

⁸ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1662, XI. 471.

them. The Commons had proposed that the presence of the lieutenant or deputy lieutenant of the county be sufficient warrant for the search. The Lords held to their original intention of having the warrant come from the King and made the amendment read: "And that no dwelling house of any Peere of this Realme be searched by vertue of this Act but by immediate Warrant from His Majesty under His Sign Manual or by other Directions from His Majesty, and either Way in the Presence of a Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant."⁹

With this and other amendments, a conference was arranged and the bill returned to the House of Commons.¹

On the next day, the King sent a message warning Parliament that he was leaving in a couple of days and wished them to finish the bills on the militia and printing and have them ready for his signature.

The House of Commons in debating the amendments they had received from the House of Lords took full advantage of the concession granted by the Lords by retaining the clause "other Directions from His Majesty" but on the essential point of making the houses of the Peers subject to search by the lieutenants and deputy lieutenants, they held their ground.² They asked the Lords for a conference and returned the bill.³

The Lords must have realized they had been trapped for in their debate they refused to agree to this new amendment of the Commons but went back to the reading as it was first amended by the House of Commons.⁴ This seems to have ended the dispute on the right of search, although the bill went through two more conferences⁵ before the Lords granted the wishes of the Commons on the power of lieutenants and deputies to fix penalties, and the Commons reluctantly agreed to the Lords' provision on the assessment of Peers.

The militia bill had been passed under the pressure of closing time and there had been a good deal of discussion about matters that had nothing to do with the right of search. But from those passages which do, it is quite clear that the Peers were very tenacious of their immunity from forcible search and even the Commons recognized it as one of the few privileges they still possessed. Apparently it was something to be rarely granted and

⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 May 1662, XI. 457; cf. *ibid.*, 14 May 1662, XI. 459-460.

¹ *Ibid.*, 14 May 1662, XI. 459-460; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 14 May 1662, VIII. 429.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*, 16 May 1662, VIII. 431.

³ *Ibid.*; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 16 May 1662, XI. 463; cf. *ibid.*, p. 464.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 16 May 1662, XI. 463; cf. *ibid.*, p. 464.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 May 1662, XI. 464; 17 May, pp. 464-465, 466; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 17 May 1662, VIII. 432, 432-433.

then only in such an emergency as would justify the militia bill itself.

The same attitude on the part of the House of Lords and the House of Commons is evident in the discussion of the bill to regulate printing.⁶ It was in early July, 1661, that the House of Commons "taking Notice, that several traiterous, schismatical, and scandalous Pamphlets have been printed and published since his Majesty's happy Restauration" ordered a bill to be prepared and brought in "for the Regulation of Printing; and for the calling in of all seditious and schismatical Books and Pamphlets, in whose Hands soever they be."⁷ It is not known what happened to this committee and bill but towards the end of the month Sir Heneage Finch, the solicitor general, was told to "bring in a Bill to impower his Majesty to regulate the Press, till it be otherwise provided for."⁸ The very next day the bill was read for the first and second time and given to a committee of whom Sir Heneage Finch and Sergeant Charlton were both members.⁹ Several amendments were reported and adopted and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.¹ On 27 July the bill was read again and passed² and sent up to the House of Lords.³

Parliament was to adjourn in about three days which left the Lords little time if the bill was to be passed at this session. On the same day it was received, the bill was read the first and second times and given to a committee.⁴ The committee had some alterations to make, one of which was quite important: the Lords wanted their houses exempt from search.⁵

The Commons in turn could not agree to this amendment and asked for a conference with the Lords about it.⁶ Among others, Sir Heneage Finch was asked to prepare for the conference the reasons of the Commons for their refusal. In the first place, he reported to an agreeing House, if this exception were allowed, the bill could not prevent the general "Mischief"; because it was quite possible that the crime envisioned

⁶ "An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses," 14 Car. II c. 33, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 428-433.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 3 July 1661, VIII. 288.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 July 1661, VIII. 312.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 26 July 1661, VIII. 313.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 27 July 1661, VIII. 314.

³ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 27 July 1661, XI. 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27 July 1661, XI. 324.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 July 1661, XI. 325; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 July 1661, VIII. 315.

⁶ *Ibid.*

by the bill would be attempted by the servants of the Lords without their knowledge, especially in their absence. Besides, for books of treason and sedition, there should be no sanctuary. Further, there was danger from books "tending to the Overthrow of the Religion established" if there were any "Privileged Place." Again (and more importantly for our discussion): "4. All Houses, as well of Commons as Peers, are equally the Castles and Proprieties of the Owners: And therefore if all the Gentry of *England* submit their Houses for publick Safety, it would look as if we were prodigal of the Liberty of the Gentry, if we admit this Exception."⁷

Here, then, we have both houses of Parliament conscious of a general search provision: the Lords strenuously opposing any search of their houses under such blanket authority; and the Commons conscious of the concession but claiming all houses should be equal in view of the "publick Safety." It was the same reason the Commons later used to justify the general search warrant in the militia bill, and it looks as if the same men were connected with it: Sergeant Charlton and Sir Heneage Finch.

The House of Commons asked for and the Lords agreed to a conference to discuss the amendment excluding the houses of Peers from search.⁸ It was at this conference that the Commons presented their reasons against the amendment granting exemption. The Lords reported the reasons of the Commons back to their own House and again took up the debate.

But the Lords not agreeing to the Reasons of the House of Commons; a Proviso was offered, as an Expedient concerning the searching of the Houses of Peers, by Order of Six of the Privy Council, and not otherwise; which, being read, was agreed to, and ordered to be offered to the House of Commons at a Free Conference; with this Declaration and Caution, Not to forsake their Lordships First Amendment, but to be in Force unless the House of Commons do agree to this Proviso.⁹

The Lords requested another conference with the Commons to present this proviso concerning the search of the houses of Peers "by Order of Six of the Privy Council."¹ The conference was granted and the Commons took into consideration this new proviso of the Lords. It is not known exactly how this proviso read, but judging from the action of the Commons it does not seem to have been much of a concession. The debate in the Commons seems to have been quite short:

⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 July 1661, VIII. 315.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 29 July 1661, XI. 325.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 July 1661, XI. 326. ¹ *Ibid.*

And the Proviso was twice read.

And the Question being put, That this House doth agree to the said Proviso;
It passed in the Negative.

The Question being put, to adhere to the Bill for regulating unlicensed and disorderly Printing;

It was resolved in the Affirmative.²

Another conference was desired to return the bill with this negative note to the House of Lords.³ By this time (the third conference on the same day on the same bill and same amendment) tempers seem to have worn thin. Sir Heneage Finch, the solicitor general, told the conference that the Commons had considered the proviso and “ ‘they find not Reason enough to consent to the same: And Mr. Solicitor told their Lordships, he had only Power to adhere, and to receive no further Reasons.’ ”⁴ This refusal to entertain any more debate at a free conference seems to have been the last straw. The Lords resolved to have another conference with the House of Commons and return the bill

and to let them know, “that their Lordships do adhere to their Proviso, and do forbear to give any further Reasons (though much could be said), because it was delivered at a Free Conference, that the Commons would hear no further Reasons; which their Lordships conceive is contrary to the Proceedings and Liberty of Parliament in Transacting Businesses between the Two Houses.”⁵

The Commons granted the conference (number four) as requested, and the solicitor general and lord privy seal met again. The message from the House of Lords was delivered, and the bill concerning printing was offered “ ‘to Mr. Solicitor, who refused to receive it; and so his Lordship left it upon the Table in the Painted Chamber, and came away.’ ”⁶

Apparently the bill was now neither in the House of Lords nor in the House of Commons, but was stranded on a table in the “Painted Chamber.”

The Commons did one thing more, they passed a resolution of commendation for those who had represented them:

Resolved, That the Persons, who managed the Conference with the Lords upon the Bill for regulating unlicensed and disorderly Printing, have done well in the Managing thereof, and leaving the Bill with the Lords: And that Mr. Sollicitor-General, who was chiefly intrusted with this Business, have the Thanks of the House returned to him for his Care and discreet Carriage therein.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 July 1661, VIII. 315.

³ *Ibid.*; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 29 July 1661, XI. 326.

⁴ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 29 July 1661, XI. 327.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

And Mr. Speaker did accordingly return Mr. Sollicitor the Thanks of the House.⁷

Allowing a certain amount of this fight to blue Monday, a summer day, the end of the session, and Parliamentary privilege, it is still obvious that the Lords were in no mood to grant a general searching permit for their houses even for the "publick Safety." The Commons, too, were certainly conscious of their privileges and the criticism of their constituents even though they may have been more ready to part with them. Search warrants were not to be thrown around lightly.

This little dispute hurt all progress on the printing bill. Of course, nothing was done before the summer recess which began the very next day. Parliament reassembled on 20 November 1661, and about three weeks later the worried House of Commons sent up a message to the Lords to put them in mind of the printing bill.⁸ The Lords ordered the attorney general to bring in a new bill after the Christmas recess.⁹ On 16 January the bill was read for the first time in the House of Lords.¹ The next day it was read again and buried in a committee.² It was not until 22 April that it was reported with amendments and alterations.³ Within a week it was passed and sent to the House of Commons.⁴ This printing bill contained a long article on the search of houses which eventually was to read this way:

And for the better discovering of printing in Corners without Licence Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That one or more of the Messengers of his Majesties Chamber by Warrant under His Majesties principal Secretares of State or the Master and Wardens of the said Company of Stationers or any of them shall have power and authority with a Constable to take unto them such assistance as they shall thinke needfull and att what time they shall thinke fitt to search all Houses and Shops where they shall knowe or upon some probable reason suspect any Books or Papers to be printed bound or stitched especially Printing Houses Booksellers Shops and Warehouses and Bookbinders Houses and Shops and to view there what is imprinting binding or stitching and to examine whether the same be licensed and to demand a sight of the said License and if

⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 July 1661, VIII. 316.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 16 December 1661, VIII. 333; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 16 December 1661, XI. 351.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 17 December 1661, XI. 353.

¹ *Ibid.*, 16 January 1661/62, XI. 365.

² *Ibid.*, 17 January 1661/62, XI. 366.

³ *Ibid.*, 22 April 1662, XI. 435.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 April 1662, XI. 439.

the said Booke soe imprinting binding or stitching shall not be licensed then to seize upon so much thereof as shall be found imprinted together with the several Offenders and to bring them before one or more Justices of the Peace whoe are hereby authorized and required to commit such Offenders to Prison there to remaine untill they shall be tried and acquitted or convicted and punished for the said Offences. . . .⁵

The bill also contained an important proviso on the search of the houses of Peers. As it came from the House of Lords it read:

Provided alwaies That no search shall be att any time made in the House or Houses of any the Peers of this Realm But by special Warrant from the Kings Majestie under His Sign Manual or under the Hand of one or both of His Majesties principal Secretaries of State or for any other Books then such as are in printing or shall be printed after the Tenth of June One thousand six hundred sixty two Any thing in this Act to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding⁶

In the House of Commons the bill was read on 2 May⁷ and on the following day given to a committee.⁸ About the middle of the month the bill was reported with amendments and provisos⁹ and on the next calendar day it was debated by the Commons.¹ Just at this time the Lords sent two reminders of the bill to the lower House.²

The Commons had something very particular to say about the proviso the Lords had put in on searching the houses of Peers. Perhaps the Commons were mindful of the obstinacy the Lords had shown on the previous bill which had died of just such a proviso. Perhaps they were also mindful of their own former argument that "All Houses, as well of Commons as Peers, are equally the Castles and Proprieties of the Owners,"³ for they let the proviso stand. But they added a very significant amendment including in the exemption from search the houses of all those who were

⁵ 14 Car. II c. 33, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 432. This article seems to have been amended in the House of Commons as a section was annexed to the original act in a separate schedule. Quite possibly it was one of the amendments discussed on 19 May 1662. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 434.

⁶ 14 Car. II c. 33, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 433. The original and the amendment have been dissected through the *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 434-435.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 2 May 1662, VIII. 417.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3 May 1662, VIII. 418.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 17 May 1662, VIII. 434.

¹ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 434.

² *Ibid.*; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 May 1662, XI. 468.

³ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 29 July 1661, VIII. 315; cf. *supra*, p. 47.

not connected with the printing trade. The proviso was eventually made to read:

Provided alwaies That no search shall be att any time made in the House or Houses of any the Peers of this Realm or of any other person or persons not being free of or using any of the Trades in this Act before mentioned but by special Warrant from the Kings Majestie under His Sign Manual or under the Hand of one or both of His Majesties principal Secretaries of State or for any other Books then such as are in printing or shall be printed after the Tenth of June One thousand six hundred sixty two Any thing in this Act to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding⁴

Another proviso which gives some indication of the temper of Parliament was added to limit the duration of the bill to two years.⁵ It seemed that "publick Safety" could be carried just so far.

The bill went back to the Lords⁶ and all the amendments were agreed to with slight changes.⁷ Apparently the Lords were willing to consider the houses of the Commoners in the same light as their own and were only adamant when their houses were threatened with a general search. The same day another conference was held, the slight changes agreed to by the Commons,⁸ and the bill was presented to the King.⁹

The real significance in the reported discussions of these bills on militia and printing is the insistence of the Peers on exempting their houses from any general search provisions. Perhaps a certain amount should be allowed for feudal tradition in the discussion on the militia bill; perhaps, too, a certain amount should be allowed to the dissident and Catholic elements for the protection of their libraries in the discussions of the printing bill. But even with these allowances, there seems to have been a genuine reluctance to grant general powers of search which was obstinate enough to kill one bill and threaten two others. It is doubtful if feudal tradition or the dissident party could have been this strong.

⁴ 14 Car. II c. 33, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 433. It would seem from the *Journals of the House of Commons* that the clause was inserted at the end of the proviso, but it is clear only from its present position in the *Statutes of the Realm. Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 435.

⁵ 14 Car. II c. 33, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 433; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 435.

⁶ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 435; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 May 1662, XI. 468.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 May 1662, XI. 469.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 19 May 1662, VIII. 435-436; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 May 1662, XI. 470.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 May 1662, XI. 472.

This insistence on exemption is congruous with the bill "for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses" only if the writ of assistance mentioned in that bill is understood in the particular sense of 12 Car. II c. 19. If the writ of assistance as passed by this Parliament was understood to be a general writ, it is too difficult to explain the silence of the Peers—and even of the Commons—on allowing such a general search warrant. They were too vociferous on the militia and printing bills to imagine they would keep quiet on any bill, if they understood that it contained a general search warrant. It may have been passed, but it certainly would have been discussed. General search warrants seem to have been too solidly abhorred to pass without some voice being raised. Even the religious dissenters—if we owe them anything for the bill on printing—would have objected to a general search warrant just to be consistent and to conceal the supposed reason of their objection to the printing bill. In the absence of any objection at all to the writ of assistance in the bill "for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses" in the light of the insistence of the Peers and even of the Commons on exemption from any general search, it seems strongly probable that the writ of assistance was understood to be a particular writ and not a general one.

*"An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating
Abuses in the Plantation Trade"*

7 & 8 Gul. III c. 22

1696

The third and last act¹ which was always introduced in American

¹ "An Act for explaining a Clause in an Act made at the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster the Two and twentieth of November in the Seventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King William the Third intituled An Act for the better Security of His Majesties Royal Person and Government," 1 Ann. c. 2, *Statutes of the Realm*, VIII. 5-6, also mentions writs of assistance but only as existing:

"And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That no Commission of Association Writ of Admittance of Si no omnes Original Writ Writ of Nisi prius Writ of Assistance nor any Commission Process or Proceedings whatsoever in or issuing out of any Court of Equity nor any Process or Proceeding upon any Office or Inquisition nor any Writ of Certiorari or Habeas Corpus in any Matter or Cause either Criminal or Civil nor any Writ of Attachment or Process for Contempt nor any Commission of Delegacy or Review for any Matters Ecclesiastical Testamentary or Maritime or any Process thereupon shall be determined abated or discontinued by the Demise of the said late King but all and every such Writ Commission Process and Proceedings shall be and are hereby revived and continued and shall be in full Force and Vertue and shall and may be proceeded upon as if His late Majesty were living nor hereafter by the Demise of Her present Majesty or any King or Queen

colonial discussions of the legality of writs of assistance was "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade."² Designed as a more direct extension of the mercantile system and navigation laws to the American colonies and customs service, the act is brought into the present discussion on writs of assistance by its explicit mention of 14 Car. II c. 11,³ the act discussed in the previous section. The clause which gives particular concern is as follows:

And for the more effectually preventing of Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade in America Bee itt further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That all Shippes comeing into or goeing out of any of the said Plantations and ladeing or unladeing any Goods or Commodities whether the same bee His Majesties Shippes of Warr or Merchants Shippes and the Masters and Commanders thereof and their Ladings shall bee subject and lyable to the same Rules Visitations Searches Penalties and Forfeitures as to the entring lading or discharging their respective Shippes and Ladings as Shippes and their Ladings and the Commanders and Masters of Shippes are subject and lyable unto in this Kingdome by vertue of an Act of Parliament made in the Fourteenth Yeare of the Reigne of King Charles the Second intituled An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in His Majesties Customes And that the Officers for collecting and manageing His Majesties Revenue and inspecting the Plantation Trade in any of the said Plantations shall have the same Powers and Authorities for visiting and searching of Shippes and takeing their Entries and for seizing and secureing or bringing on Shoare any of the Goods prohibited to bee imported or exported into or out of any the said Plantations or for which any Duties are payable or ought to have beene paid by any of the before menconed Acts as are provided for the Officers of the Customes in England by the said last mentioned

of this Realm shall any Commission of Assize Oyer and Terminer General Gaol Delivery or of Association Writ of Admittance Writ of Si non omnes Writ of Assistance or Commission of the Peace be determined But every such Commission and Writ shall be and continue in full Force and Vertue for the Space of Six Months next ensuing notwithstanding any such Demise unless superseded and determined by Her Majesty Her Heirs or Successors and also no Original Writ Writ of Nisi Prius Commission Process or Proceedings whatsoever in or issuing out of any Court of Equity nor any Process or Proceeding upon any Office or Inquisition nor any Writ of Certiorari or Habeas Corpus in any Matter or Cause either Criminal or Civil nor any Writ of Attachment or Process for Contempt nor any Commission of Delegation or Review for any Matters Ecclesiastical Testamentary or Maritime or any Process thereupon shall be determined abated or discontinued by the Demise of Her Majesty or any King or Queen of this Realm But every such Writ Commission Process and Proceeding shall remain in full force and vertue to be proceeded upon as if Her Majesty or such other King or Queen had lived notwithstanding any such Death or Demise," *ibid.*, p. 6.

² 7 & 8 Gul. III c. 22, *Statutes of the Realm*, VII. 103-107.

³ "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customes," *ibid.*, v. 393-397; cf. preceding section.

Act made in the Fourteenth Yeare of the Reigne of King Charles the Second and alsoe to enter Houses or Warehouses to search for and seize any such Goods And that all the Wharfingers and Owners of Keys and Wharfes or any Lightermen Bargemen Watermen Porters or other Persons assisting in the Conveyance Concealment or Rescue of any of the said Goods or in the hindering or resistance of any of the said Officers in the Performance of their Duty and the Boates Barges Lighters or other Vessells imployed in the Conveyance of such Goods shall bee subject to the like Paines and Penalties as are provided by the same Act made in the Fourteenth Yeare of the Reigne of King Charles the Second in relation to prohibited or uncustomed Goods in this Kingdome And that the like Assistance shall bee given to the said Officers in the Execution of their Office as by the said last mentioned Act is provided for the Officers in England And alsoe that the said Officers shall bee subject to the same Penalties and Forfeitures for any Corruptions Frauds Connivances or Concealments in violation of any the before mentioned Lawes as any Officers of the Customes in England are lyable to by vertue of the said last mentioned Act And also that in case any Officer or Officers in the Plantations shall bee sued or molested for any thing done in the Execution of their Office the said Officer shall and may plead the General Issue and shall give this or other Custome Acts in Evidence and the Judge to allow thereof have and enjoy the like Priviledges and Advantages as are allowed by Law to the Officers of His Majesties Customes in England.⁴

The purport of the act is clear: to give colonial customs officials the same legal authority that officers at home enjoyed. They were to have "the same Powers and Authorities for visiting and searching Shippes . . . as are provided for the Officers of the Customes in England . . . and alsoe to enter Houses or Warehouses to search for and seize any such goods. . . ."⁵ Actually, of course, the writ of assistance is nowhere mentioned by name⁶ and least of all is there any indication in the law itself whether the

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. 104.

⁵ This phrase will come in for discussion in later colonial history. Cf. the difficulty of the collector and comptroller of New London, 24 May 1766, PRO, Treas. 1, 453, and the opinion of the attorney general, 17 October 1766, PRO, Treas. 1, 453, both cited in George G. Wolkins, "Malcom and Writs of Assistance," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LVIII (1924-1925), 58-61, 71-73.

⁶ The phrase "like Assistance" was sometimes interpreted to mean a writ of assistance. Thus the argument of Jeremy Gridley in 1761 reported in the manuscript "Israel Keith's Pleadings, Arguments, Extracts, &c," printed in Horace Gray, "Writs of Assistance" in Josiah Quincy, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay Between 1761 and 1772* (Samuel Quincy [ed.], Boston, 1865), p. 481; cf. pp. 478-482. It seems to have been a more general phrase and may have referred to this paragraph of "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customes," 14 Car. II c. 11:

"And be it further enacted and ordained That all Officers belonging to the Ad-

writ mentioned in 14 Car. II c. 11 was understood as a general writ or a particular writ. Even when we turn to the debates of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, we derive little or no indication of the intentions of Parliament.

Oddly enough, the bill itself seems to have originated actually if not technically in the House of Lords. During the investigation of the East India Company chartered by the Scottish Parliament,⁷ the committee in one of its December, 1695, reports included this suggestion:

That the Commissioners of the Customs attend this House, to give an Account, whether, as the Law now stands, there be sufficient Power, in *Carolina, Maryland, Pensilvania*, and other Plantations where there are Proprietors, to collect the King's Duty there: and whether there be the same Security to prevent the Inconveniences that may arise to the Proprietors and Planters there, from the Act of Parliament in *Scotland* for erecting an *East India* Company in that Kingdom, as there is in other Plantations.⁸

It was so resolved by the House of Lords. Some ten days later the resolution was renewed and the Commissioners of Customs ordered to attend.⁹ The Commissioners were also ordered to give an account of the trade for the previous three years.¹

Early in January, 1696, the Commissioners of Customs delivered some papers to the House of Lords which may have contained their suggestions on the plantation trade.² A committee was appointed to consider

miralty Captaines and Commanders of Shippes Forts Castles and Block-houses as alsoe all Justices of the Peace Mayors and Sheriffs Bayliffes Constables and Headboroughs and all the Kings Majesties Officers Ministers and Subjects whatsoever whom it may concern shall bee aiding and assisting to all and every person and persons which are or shall bee appointed by His Majesty to manage His Customes and the Officers of His Majesties Customes and their respective Deputies in the due Execution of all and every Act and Thing in and by this present Act required and enjoyned And all such who shall be aiding and assisting unto them in the due execution hereof shall be defended and saved harmelesse by vertue of this Act," *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 400.

⁷ V., e.g., *Journals of the House of Commons*, 21 January 1695/96, xi. 400-407; cf. *ibid.*, 17 December 1695, p. 365; 7 February 1695/96, p. 434; 29 February, p. 477; 3 March, p. 488; 4 March, p. 490; 5 March, p. 491, etc., *passim*; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 3 December 1695, xv. 603; 5 December, p. 605; 9 December, p. 608; 12 December, p. 610; 13 December, pp. 611-612; 14 December, p. 613; 16 December, p. 614; 17 December, p. 615; 18 December, p. 616.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 20 December 1695, xv. 619; cf. *ibid.*, p. 618.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30 December 1695, xv. 623.

¹ *Ibid.*, 30 December 1695, xv. 624; cf. *ibid.*, 3 January 1695/96, xv. 628; 6 January, p. 630; 7 January, pp. 631, 632; 9 January, p. 634; 15 January, p. 641.

² *Ibid.*, 3 January 1695/96, xv. 628; 6 January, p. 630; cf. previous footnote and

the papers and hold hearings,³ and one or more of the Commissioners was ordered to attend.⁴ At a meeting on 8 January, the Commissioners were told that they would do well to prepare the bill mentioned by them with all convenient expediency.⁵

The first report of the committee was mostly concerned with an annual account of trade the Lords wished the Customs Commissioners to supply.⁶ Even the committee meeting of 15 January 1696, which some of the Commissioners were again ordered to attend, seems to have been mainly concerned with this account of imports and exports.⁷ The next day, however, the Commissioners of Customs on being reminded of proposals to strengthen the navigation acts reported themselves in great "forwardness" in preparing such measures.⁸ Thus, four days later, even though there was still talk of the "Papers touching the Balance of Trade," the committee of the House of Lords also reported:

"That whereas the Commissioners of Customs had said, 'The several Plantations under Proprietors by Grants from the Crown are subject to the Acts for Trade, and other Plantation laws, in like Manner as are all other the *English* Plantations'; yet they are now become sensible, that it would be necessary to strengthen the Acts of Navigation, for a further Security of the Trade of those Plantations; and they are in great Forwardness to offer some Bills to that Purpose."⁹

This seems to have ended the discussion in the House of Lords for the present, but on 23 January, in the House of Commons it was "Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for preventing Frauds, and regulating Abuses, in the Plantation Trade: And that Mr. *Chadwick* and Mr.

the places there cited; cf. mention of a draft of a bill for the better collection of customs, in 1685, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, VIII. 363, 381, 385, 387, 397, 404, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, 7 January 1695/96, xv. 631.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 January 1695/96, xv. 632.

⁵ House of Lords, Committee Books, v. 11, Library of Congress, photofilm.

⁶ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 9 January 1695/96, xv. 634.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1695/96, xv. 641; House of Lords, Committee Books, v. 28.

⁸ House of Lords, Committee Books, v. 29-30.

⁹ "Their Lordships likewise took Notice to them of their Letter, which they had prepared to send, as from themselves, to the several Governors of those Plantations, under the distinct Proprietors; which their Lordships recommended to them, to make Application to the Lords of the Treasury, that they would move the Council, 'That Letters to that Effect might be sent from the Council, as more effectual to the Preservation of Trade in those Parts;' which the Commissioners have likewise informed their Lordships they have since done, and that it is in a Way to be dispatched accordingly." *Journals of the House of Lords*, 20 January 1695/96, xv. 646.

Blathwaite do prepare, and bring in, the Bill.”¹ The bill was presented and read for the first time on 27 January 1696,² but it was not until 12 February that it was read the second time.³ The bill was considered on 9 March;⁴ several amendments were made and agreed to on 12 March;⁵ and the whole was passed and sent to the House of Lords on 19 March.⁶ Only the bare skeleton was reported; and nothing at all on search warrants.

In the meantime the committee from the House of Lords had been holding sessions with Edward Randolph⁷ in constant attendance, but we learn nothing of the writs of assistance.⁸ From the floor of the House of Lords we have little more. The bill was read⁹ and given to a committee of the whole¹ and they in turn again ordered Randolph to appear as a witness.² Some progress was made and then the “Judges” were asked to attend.³ It was even

Ordered, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King’s Bench do attend this House on *Thursday* next, at Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, to give the House an Account of the several Laws now in Force concerning the Plantation Trade, and whether those Laws interfere one with the other; and how they consist with the Clause herewith sent, in the Bill for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade.⁴

After a couple of debates⁵ the bill was reported fit to pass with amendments and provisoes.⁶ It quickly did so.⁷

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 23 January 1695/96, XI. 409; Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), I. 178.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*, 27 January 1695/96, XI. 415; cf. *ibid.*, 1 February, p. 424; 6 February, p. 433.

³ *Ibid.*, 12 February 1695/96, XI. 440; cf. *ibid.*, 22 February, p. 461; 3 March, p. 487; 5 March, p. 491; 6 March, p. 495.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 March 1695/96, XI. 501. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 March 1695/96, XI. 505–506.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 March 1695/96, XI. 524; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 March 1695/96, XV. 711.

⁷ Randolph had previously been active in the colonies.

⁸ House of Lords, Committee Books, v. 36–41; cf. the proposal of Randolph, 30 April 1681, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, VII. 131.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 19 March 1695/96, XV. 711.

¹ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1695/96, XV. 712. ² *Ibid.*, 23 March 1695/96, XV. 714.

³ *Ibid.*, 24 March 1695/96, XV. 716. ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26 March 1696, XV. 718; 27 March, p. 819.

⁶ V. *Journals of the House of Commons*, 31 March 1696, XI. 539–540, for the amendments.

⁷ *Journals of the House of Lords*, 28 March 1696, XV. 720.

The bill was returned to the House of Commons⁸ where the amendments were considered and agreed to with a further amendment,⁹ and the bill was shipped back to the House of Lords.¹ Here this bill was approved in its final form² and, on 10 April 1696 the King gave his royal assent.³

Not too much was reported on the bill itself, and nothing at all on the powers of search. It is to be noted, however, that the bill explicitly re-enacts "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customes"⁴ and says nothing about the first "Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments of His Majestyes Customes and Subsidyes."⁵ Did this mean that this Parliament considered that the writ of assistance from the Court of Exchequer mentioned in 14 Car. II c. 11 had superseded the warrant mentioned in 12 Car. II c. 19? It is possible. Did they consider one as a general the other as a particular warrant? It is possible, but

⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 March 1696, xv. 720; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 28 March 1696, xi. 547.

⁹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 31 March 1696, xi. 539-540.

¹ *Ibid.*; *Journals of the House of Lords*, 31 March 1696, xv. 722.

² *Journals of the House of Lords*, 31 March 1696, xv. 722.

³ *Ibid.*, 10 April 1696, xv. 732; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 10 April 1696, xi. 555.

⁴ 14 Car. II c. 11, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 393-397.

⁵ 12 Car. II c. 19, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 250. This bill was re-enacted by "An Act for confirming Publique Acts," 13 Car. II c. 7, *ibid.*, 309-310; "An Act for settling the Revenue on His Majestie for His Life which was settled on His late Majestie for His Life," 1 Jac. II c. 1, *ibid.*, vi. 1; "An Act for making good Deficiencies & for preserving the Publick Credit," 1 Ann. c. 7, *ibid.*, viii. 40-48; "An Act for reviving continuing and appropriating certain Duties upon several Commodities to be exported and certain Duties upon Coals to be waterborn and carried coastwise and for granting further Duties upon Candles for Thirty two Years to raise Fifteen hundred thousand Pounds by Way of a Lottery for the Service of the Year One thousand seven hundred and eleven and for suppressing such unlawful Lotteries and such Insurance Offices as are therein mentioned," 9 Ann. c. 6, *ibid.*, ix. 366-384; "An Act for redeeming the Duties and Revenues which are settled to pay off Principal and Interest on the Orders made forth on four Lottery-Acts passed in the ninth and tenth Years of her late Majesty's Reign; and for redeeming certain Annuities payable on Orders out of the Hereditary Excise, according to a former Act in that Behalf; and for establishing a General Yearly Fund, not only for the future Payment of Annuities at several Rates, to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of *England*, and redeemable by Parliament, but also to raise Monies for such Proprietors of the said Orders who shall choose to be paid their Principal and Arrears of Interest in ready Money; and for making good such other Deficiencies and Payments as in this Act are mentioned; and for taking off the Duties on Linseed imported, and *British* Linen exported," 3 Geo. I c. 7, *Statutes at Large* (London, 1763), v. 104-119; cf. *supra*, section one.

there is no proof.⁶ In other words, it is impossible to decide from the bill, which does not even mention a writ of assistance explicitly, or from the debates in Parliament, which give us no information on the problem of search, or from the committee books of the House of Lords, just what was intended by this measure. It is just not known, nor are the other laws and other debates of this Parliament much of a help in solving the problem.

As can be seen, neither the bills nor the debates of this Parliament are of any help in trying to come to any positive decision on writs of assistance. At most we have a few hints of disapproval of general warrants and the use of particular ones. There was simply no real discussion of the search problem reported in either House.

CONCLUSION

What, then, can be said, in summary, of the legislation of Parliament authorizing search warrants for customs officials?

1. Parliament passed a very specific law granting searching privileges under a very specific warrant and power to overcome resistance.⁷ Of this we are certain. There was no mistaking the intention. Even the background of the bill is reasonably clear.⁸

2. The only bill which legislates a writ of assistance by name does not itself indicate whether this was to be a specific or a general search warrant.⁹ Other legislation of the same Parliament makes it highly probable that it was intended only as a specific warrant.¹

3. There is no positive evidence anywhere that the writ of assistance was intended by Parliament to be a general warrant and a good deal of evidence to indicate that it was not.

⁶ With such a witness as Randolph it is quite possible that this Parliament intended to issue general search warrants, particularly for the colonies. Certainly they intended all that was allowed in England. By this time there had been published in England a Latin form of a general writ of assistance which was to be translated for the writ of 1755 in Massachusetts. [William Brown], *Compendium of the Several Branches of Practice in the Court of Exchequer, at Westminster* (London, 1688). Parliament may have had this writ in mind.

⁷ "An Act to prevent Fraudes and Concealments of His Majestyes Customes and Subsidyes," 12 Car. II c. 19, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 250.

⁸ *Supra*, section one.

⁹ "An Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in his Majestyes Customes," 14 Car. II c. 11, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 393-397.

¹ *Supra*, section two.

Mr. JEROME DAVIS GREENE spoke informally on the theme: "Milford Haven: a Colony of Massachusetts in Great Britain," referring to the effort made after the American Revolution to settle Nantucket whalemens, first in Nova Scotia, and then in Wales.

Mr. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL offered the following contribution:

Tutor Flynt's Silver Chamber-pot

IN *A Collection of College Words and Customs*, published by John Bartlett, the instigator of the often revised *Familiar Quotations*, at Cambridge in 1851, it is stated that the Latin word *mingo* was formerly used at Harvard College to designate a chamber-pot.¹ In explanation, Bartlett cited an incident in the long career of the Reverend Henry Flynt² of the Harvard class of 1693, who was a Fellow of Harvard College from 1700 to 1760. "Many years ago, some of the students of Harvard College, wishing to make a present to their Tutor, Mr. Flynt, called on him, informed him of their intention, and requested him to select a gift which would be acceptable to him. He replied that he was a single man, that he already had a well-filled library, and in reality wanted nothing. The students, not all satisfied with this answer, determined to present him with a silver chamber-pot. One was accordingly made of the appropriate dimensions and inscribed with these words:

Mingere cum bombis
Res est saluberrima lumbis.

On the morning of Commencement Day, this was borne in procession in a morocco case, and presented to the Tutor. Tradition does not say with what feelings he received it, but it remained for many years at a room in Quincy,³ where he was accustomed to spend his Saturdays and Sundays,

¹ 207-208.

² Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), IV. 162-167.

³ Judge Edmund Quincy, who had married Tutor Flynt's sister Dorothy, added in 1706 to the Quincy homestead a wing, containing a study with a bedroom above, reached by a private staircase, for his brother-in-law's accommodation. See Edith Woodbury Coyle, "The Quincy Homestead," *Old-Time New England*, XIX (1929), 147-158.

and finally disappeared, about the beginning of the Revolutionary War. It is supposed to have been carried to England."

The story is entirely understandable, first of all because Tutor Flynt was the kind of man to whom one would like to give a present, if one may judge by an anecdote quoted by C. K. Shipton. "At morning recitation in his chamber, while the students were standing around, he chanced to look in the glass and see one of them behind him lift a keg of wine from the table and take a satisfying drink from the bung-hole. 'I thought,' said Father Flynt, 'I would not disturb him while drinking; but, as soon as he had done, I turned round and told him he ought to have had the manners to have drank to somebody.'"⁴

In the second place, the old gentleman had been in residence for so many decades that he had already received *ex dono pupillorum* candlesticks, teapot, covered cup, porringer, and silver in most of the forms for which it is manufactured for polite presentation.⁵ Thirdly, elegant persons in the eighteenth century saw no reason why their chamber-pots should not be fashioned from precious metal. As late as 1812, Sir Walter Scott and his lively friend J. B. S. Morritt were exchanging jests on the theme. Morritt regaled Scott with the account of Lady Holland's habit of traveling with a silver chamber-pot. During a visit she made in the "South country," her hostess's chambermaid carried "her ladyship's favorite" to the "under-butler, as she said it was *his* business to clean *plate*," and he in turn "appealed to the Major domo, alleging that a *pot-de-chambre*, though of silver, did not fall within his jurisdiction. The ladies and gentlemen of the second and third table broke into feuds, and being unable to agree in the decision of the housekeeper or butler, the parties in procession carried the subject in dispute to their master and mistress, who have ever since been . . . angry . . . at the fastidiousness of her ladyship."⁶ Scott, claiming that "nothing can exceed the tale of the silver Chalice," repaid Morritt with the tale of "a huge implement of this metal at Armiston not reserved for the commodity of any individual but usually brought in after dinner when there is a large company for the general use and benefit."⁷

⁴ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, IV. 164-165.

⁵ *Harvard Tercentenary Exhibition Catalogue of the Furniture Silver Pewter Glass Ceramics Paintings Prints Together with Allied Arts and Crafts of the Period 1636-1836* (Cambridge, 1936), 103, describes various pieces of silver owned by Tutor Flynt, and illustrates (Plate 17) the pair of candlesticks by John Coney given by students in 1716.

⁶ Wilfred Partington, ed., *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott* (London, 1930), 181-182.

⁷ H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott 1811-1814* (London, 1932),

Moreover the students' gift to Tutor Flynt showed a becoming erudition, which clearly indicated that Harvard College in the first half of the eighteenth century piously preserved the memory of the great medieval Italian medical school of Salerno, for the Latin verses engraved upon the chamber pot were not a contemporary Harvard witticism, but a direct quotation from the *Præcepta generalis*—sub-heading *Egestio—ventositas et mictura*—of the celebrated *Schola Salernitana*.⁸ These verses must have been often repeated in succeeding centuries, for Professor Morris P. Tilley gives them as the source of the English proverb, "Piss and fart, a sound heart" and cites similar instances in Spanish and Italian. James Boswell must have known the Latin jingle, for, while misbehaving himself on the Continent, he perverted its meaning by entering in a memorandum of 12 October 1764: "Then had girl, merely *saluberrima lumbis*."⁹

A quarter of a century ago our fellow member Dr. Harold Bowditch conducted a widespread search in the United States and Great Britain for Tutor Flynt's silver chamber-pot, hoping to be able to include it in the Harvard Tercentenary exhibition. As his diligent labors were without result,¹ it seems probable that the pot in question shared the fate of an earlier vessel eulogized in a poem entitled "On Melting down the Plate: Or the Piss-pot's Farewel, 1697," which begins:

Maids need no more their Silver Piss-pots scour,
They now must jog like traitors to the Tower.

.

When thou, transformed into another shape,
Shalt make the World rejoice at thy Escape;
And from the Mint in triumph shall be sent,
New coin'd and mill'd, to ev'ry Hearts content.

113-114. Scott tells of the confusion resulting on an evening when, by chance, ladies had lingered longer than usual in the dining room, the butler "stalked into the room bearing in both hands this brilliant Heirloom." Upon perceiving his blunder he beat a hasty retreat crying "God forgie me"—as no Frenchman would have—and "shrouding with a napkin the late object of his solemn entry."

⁸ Ch. Meaux Saint-Marc, *L'école de Salerne, traduction en vers français . . . avec le texte latin* (Paris, 1880), 73, where the text is given as

Antiquo more mingens pedis absque pudore
Mingere cum bombis res est saluberrima lombis.

⁹ Frederick A. Pottle, ed., *Boswell on the Grand Tour Germany and Switzerland 1764* (New York, 1953), 136.

¹ The presence of a silver chamber-pot in the Corporation silver of York, England (reported by Jerome D. Greene), led Dr. Bowditch to envision the happy hope that it might be Tutor Flynt's and that, if so, it might be borrowed for the Tercentenary exhibition. Inquiry produced a courteous communication from the Lord Mayor of York that gave indisputable evidence that the York pot was not Flynt's.

Welcome to all, then proud of thy new Vamp,
 Bearing the Passport of a Royal Stamp;
 And pass as current, pleasant, and as free,
 As that which hath so oft pass'd into thee.²

Although Dr. Bowditch was unable to recover this dignified relic for the collections of Harvard University, other neighboring institutions possess related trophies. The Club of Odd Volumes exhibits—in the same case with a *History of the Brighton Artillery*³ and a presentation copy of F.D.R.'s *On Our Way*—a pottery utensil reputed to bear the arms of William III, which Sir Winston Churchill suggested to President A. P. Loring, Jr., should be used for drinking punch. The Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a pot ornamented with the likeness of General Benjamin F. Butler, presented by a traveling Bostonian who seemingly stole it from a Mississippi River steamboat soon after the Civil War. In the collection of pewter given to Boston University by the Reverend H. J. Hill of Concord, New Hampshire, is a mid-eighteenth-century pewter bedpan, thought to be of American origin.⁴ The Bostonian Society is reliably reported⁵ to have owned within the present century one of the French porcelain pots adorned with the portrait of Benjamin Franklin and the motto ERIPUIT COELO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TIRANNIS that Louis XVI, bored with the Comtesse Diane de Polignac's ardors over Franklin, had made at the Sèvres manufactory as a New Year's gift for her.⁶ Today the Society can only produce a neatly mounted Sèvres medallion of Franklin, which gives rise to suspicion of bowdlerization by past officers.⁷

² *Poems on Affairs of State, From the Time of Oliver Cromwell, to the Abdication of K. James Second* (London, 1716, 6th ed.), I. 215–216.

³ For an account of this bibliographical fraud, which sprang from boredom with the pretensions of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, see Charles Eliot Goodspeed, *Yankee Bookseller* (Boston, 1937), 63–65. This unique work was given to the Club of Odd Volumes by Charles H. Taylor (1867–1941) of the *Boston Globe*, “the fictitious Mr. Smith” of Mr. Goodspeed's autobiography.

⁴ On exhibition in the Chenery Library. The object is 10½" in diameter and 2½" deep.

⁵ Charles P. Curtis tells me that his cousin, Horatio Greenough Curtis, of the Harvard Class of 1865, who died in 1922, saw it.

⁶ Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1938), 632, quoting Madame de Campan, *Mémoires sur la vie privée de Marie Antoinette*.

⁷ In the four years that have passed since I suggested the possibility of this historical expurgation in the May, 1954, issue of *Athenæum Items* no denial has been made by the Bostonian Society.

Journey to Plymouth

13 September 1951

ON Thursday, 13 September 1951, twenty-seven members of the Society journeyed to Plymouth at the invitation of Mr. ELLIS WETHRELL BREWSTER, a Resident Member of the Society, and President of the Plymouth Cordage Company, of which our President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., was Chairman of the Board. A bus of the Boston and Maine Transportation Company provided an easy and agreeable journey to Plymouth, where the members inspected the standard historical sites and the works of the Plymouth Cordage Company. Returning to Boston, the bus ignominiously collapsed, but fortunately in close proximity to a cider mill in Hanover, where the members passed the late afternoon agreeably until a relief bus arrived from Boston.

In honor of this journey, Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON prepared the following paper, which is a revision of an address that he delivered to the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of New Hampshire in 1936, which was printed at the Merrymount Press the following year in a limited edition:

The Pilgrim Fathers Their Significance in History

Why are the Pilgrim Fathers Significant?

THE place of the Pilgrim Fathers in American history can best be stated by a paradox. Of slight importance in their own time, they are of great and increasing significance in our time, through the influence of their story on American folklore and tradition. And the key to that story, the vital factor in this little group, is the faith in God that exalted them and their small enterprise to something of lasting value and enduring interest.

The first half of this paradox, the insignificance of the Plymouth Colony in the colonial era, is one upon which almost all American historians are now agreed. It was the earliest colony in New England, and it proved to

the great mass of English Puritans who were seeking a home in the New World that it was possible to make a living in New England. But, after 1629, New Plymouth (the official name of the Pilgrims' colony) was overshadowed by the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, to which it was annexed in 1691. Massachusetts Bay, rather than Plymouth Colony, was the seed bed of New England. There and in Connecticut and New Haven the distinctive New England institutions of church and state, culture and commerce were developed. And it was in Rhode Island, Maine and Maryland rather than in New Plymouth that germinated the seeds of democracy and religious liberty which are among the principal glories of our American heritage.

Three American institutions may be said to have been founded or at least started by the Pilgrim Fathers. These were, registry of deeds and civil marriage, both of which they had picked up from the Dutch, and the Congregational Church, which they were the first in America to set up. Massachusetts Bay would probably have adopted the Congregational form of church organization in any case; but few if any of her early leaders had seen an actual working church of that pattern; and when Dr. Samuel Fuller, the Pilgrim physician, visited Salem in 1629 to cure the epidemic that broke out there among the recent immigrants, he was able to describe the government of the First Church of Plymouth in a manner that clinched the argument for the First Church of Salem being a Congregational Church.

For the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth were Puritans. They must share in whatever praise be accorded to the Puritans for their virtues, and blame for their shortcomings. The word "Puritan" used in their day meant the people who wished to push the Protestant Reformation to what they conceived to be its logical conclusion. All Puritans, generally speaking, were Calvinist in theology; but they might be Presbyterian, Congregationalist or otherwise in their views of church government, and Nonconformist or Separatist in their attitude toward the Anglican Church. The nucleus of the Pilgrim Fathers was a congregation of English Separatists—left-wingers of the Puritan movement—who fled from England in 1608 and settled at Leyden in Holland. Their pastor, the Rev. John Robinson, was a broadminded scholar who, after sundry conferences with other Puritan leaders, worked out the Congregational Church organization which in time became the official church of colonial New England. We should drop the misleading antithesis of "Pilgrim and Puritan," invented in the nineteenth century. The Pilgrims *were* Puritans; nobody more so.

Even the Pilgrim church at Plymouth was soon overshadowed by the

churches that sprang up elsewhere in New England, churches whose learned and brilliant pastors, such as John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, contributed to the literature of Puritanism and Congregationalism, as the simple parsons of Plymouth Colony never did. By any quantitative standard, the Plymouth Colony was one of the smallest, weakest and least important of the English colonies, even of those in New England. But in quality, especially in spiritual quality, it was second to none.

If all this be true, you may well ask, why does the Colony of New Plymouth bulk so large in the historical consciousness of today? Why do most Americans and all Englishmen (to the intense annoyance of Virginians, whose Jamestown colony was founded thirteen years earlier) frequently claim priority for the *Mayflower*? Why do the Pilgrim Fathers so constantly figure in poetry, oratory, comic strips and advertisements around Thanksgiving Day?

You may answer this question for yourself by reading even a small part of William Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*. Here is a story of simple people impelled by an ardent faith in God to a dauntless courage in danger, a boundless resourcefulness in face of difficulty, an impregnable fortitude in adversity. It strengthens and inspires us still, after more than three centuries, in this age of change and uncertainty. Bradford's *History* strikes the note of stout-hearted idealism that all Americans respect, even when they cannot share it. Governor Bradford's annals, as retold by countless historians and teachers, and by poets like Longfellow, have secured for this brave little band a permanent place in American history and American folklore. The story of their patience and fortitude, and the workings of that unseen force which bears up heroic souls in the doing of mighty errands, as often as it is read or told, quickens the spiritual forces in American life, strengthens faith in God, and confidence in human nature. Thus the Pilgrims in a sense have become the spiritual ancestors of all Americans, whatever their stock, race or creed. Bradford foretold it himself in these words:

Thus out of small beginnings greater things have been produced by His hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone unto many, yea in some sort to our whole Nation. . . .

"They Knew They Were Pilgrims"

The Plymouth Pilgrims were simple folk. Only one, Elder William Brewster, had a university education. Only two others, John Carver and

Edward Winslow, were ranked as gentlemen. The rest, as Bradford himself, a self-educated farmer's son, wrote, "followed the innocent trade of husbandry." During the ten years that they spent in Leyden, they earned a living in various humble occupations such as weaving and dyeing. Elder Brewster ran a printing shop where he produced Puritan tracts that could not pass the censorship in England. There were several congregations of English Puritan exiles in the Netherlands; but this one at Leyden, although inferior in social status to some, was their superior in spirit, a veritable band of brothers. The others thought only of getting back to England; but the Rev. John Robinson's band looked to something beyond, and bore hardship with a cheerful spirit. They resisted the unpleasant refugee propensity to complain. For, said Bradford, "they knew they were Pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."¹ In a letter to Sir Edwin Sandys on the subject of removing to Virginia, Brewster and Robinson declared:

We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us, . . . and that He will graciously prosper our endeavours according to the simplicity of our hearts therein. . . .

We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, . . . by virtue whereof we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. . . .

It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. . . .

A noble declaration, abundantly carried out!

Bradford relates the "reasons for their removal" from Holland; their negotiations with the London merchant adventurers who provided the funds; the touching farewell at Delfthaven, 22 July; the long delay at Southampton while the merchants tried to screw a few extra pounds out of them; the first start with the two ships; the disheartening return to Plymouth in order to abandon the unseaworthy *Speedwell*; and how "these troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship with a prosperous wind" they finally squared away on 6 September 1620. As the historian Charles McLean Andrews wrote, "No enterprise in overseas settlement thus far undertaken can compare with this desperate project" of the Leyden Pilgrims.

Let us not forget the deep debt that the Pilgrims owed to the Virginia Company of London, which was still struggling to make a success of the first English colony, on the Chesapeake. Sir Edwin Sandys, elected treas-

¹ An allusion to Hebrews xi. 13-16.

urer of the Virginia Company in 1619, was a nephew of the Archbishop of York, who employed Elder Brewster's father; and through his good offices the Pilgrims and the London merchants associated with them obtained from the Company a land patent. They were to be one of those "Particular Plantations" settled by organized groups, to which the Virginia Company offered large tracts of land and a limited autonomy. The text of this patent has never been found, and probably is lost forever. Andrews conjectures very plausibly that it specified no particular place for the location of the Hundred, which the Pilgrims were free to take up on any of the numerous unoccupied shores of the then South Virginia, which stretched from the Chesapeake almost to the Hudson. And the experience of the Virginia Colony was of incalculable value to the Pilgrims. Captain John Smith, in an interesting passage, declares that he offered his personal service to the Pilgrims, but that they were content to peruse his writings. It is certainly difficult to imagine that gallant captain in the place of Myles Standish!

The Mayflower Compact

The Mayflower Compact,² like many of the Pilgrims' praiseworthy acts, has been overrated. It has been called the First American Constitution, a Charter of Democracy, an actual *contrat social* such as Rousseau described from his imagination, a Basic Document of American Liberty, and I know not what else. But your historian is content with what Bradford says. It was "a Combination made by them before they came ashore . . . occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall. . . . that when they came ashore they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command

2

In the name of God, Amen.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do." In other words, it was a necessary result of their landing in an unexpected location where their patent had no validity. In form this "combination" followed the church covenants with which Puritans were perfectly familiar. The necessity of such an agreement had been foreseen by John Robinson, who in his parting letter of instructions advised the Pilgrims to let their "wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations."

The Compact was simply an agreement made by Englishmen who, finding themselves on English soil without any specified powers of government, agreed to govern themselves until the king's pleasure should be signified. There was not the slightest thought of independence, or of republicanism among those who drew it up. The Pilgrims were, in fact, much more loyal to the English monarchy than the other Puritan colonies. Their Compact established no democracy, since the signers assumed exclusive right to political power in the Colony, and it was not signed by all adult male passengers. The forty-one who did sign constituted themselves a political corporation, admitting to the franchise, individually and very sparingly, certain newcomers, young men, and former bondservants. It was superseded by the Peirce patent of 1621 from the Council for New England, which granted the Compact signers and whomsoever they chose to associate with them, the right of self government.

At no time did the government of Plymouth Colony even approach a form that we would call democratic today. In 1643 there were only two hundred and thirty-three freemen or voters in the Colony, as compared with six hundred and thirty-four "Males that are able to bear Arms from 16 Years old to 60 Years." Moreover, from 1627 to 1639 there was one minor group that had greater power than the whole body of freemen, the "Old Comers" who had the exclusive power to allot land.

Although the Pilgrim Colony was very far from being a democracy, it was a community where talent was promptly recognized and generously rewarded, no matter what a man's background might be. When in 1627 Bradford, Allerton and Myles Standish were appointed by the freemen "Undertakers" to take exclusive charge of the fur trade of the Colony and complete responsibility for paying off the Colony's debt, they were allowed to co-opt five more men to aid them. Besides Elder Brewster and Edward Winslow they chose to these very responsible positions John Alden, who

had been engaged as cooper for the *Mayflower* just before she sailed; John Howland, a young man of unknown antecedents who came as Governor Carver's servant; and Thomas Prence, son of a London coachmaker who arrived in the *Fortune* a year later at the age of twenty-one. Prence was the first man in the Colony other than Bradford and Carver to be elected Governor, in 1634. He and John Alden had been Assistants to the Governor since 1632; and John Howland, too, was elected an Assistant in 1634.

In any case it would be unhistorical to judge the political abilities of the Pilgrims by the touchstone of democracy. They amply demonstrated an ability equal, if not superior, to other groups of English colonists, to govern themselves with no assistance from King, Proprietor, appointed Governor, or corporate overlord.

Who's Who Among the Pilgrims

In asserting that the Pilgrim Colony was a homogeneous community, I am answering a leading question. It was pointed out fifty years ago that only thirty-seven of the hundred or so passengers on the *Mayflower* belonged to the Pilgrim congregation at Leyden. Hence many have concluded that the Pilgrim Fathers were but a minority in the Plymouth Colony; and "debunkers" have gone so far as to declare that only one third of the *Mayflower* passengers were in any way connected with the Leyden Pilgrim group, the other two thirds being persons added to the passenger list by the London merchants, and including those whom Bradford describes as "untoward persons mixed amongst them from the first." It has even been asserted that Bradford's *History* was a tract of special pleading for a minority of Leyden Pilgrims who trampled ruthlessly on the majority of colonists.

If the Pilgrims were indeed able to bend a heterogeneous crowd of adventurers to serving their high purposes, they must have been even stouter fellows than we suspected! But, apart from that, the question whether the Leyden Pilgrims were or were not the majority aboard the *Mayflower* depends on the way they are counted. If you count noses, thirty-seven were of the Leyden group and sixty-five were not; but if you group them by families, the figures tell a very different story. And I submit that the only sensible way to analyze the *Mayflower* passengers is by families; for some of the Leyden people picked up relatives or servants in England, and in those days it was unheard-of for a dependent kinsman or servant to differ in religious or political views from his master. On board the *Mayflower* there were twenty-six heads of families, of whom exactly half came from Leyden; and twelve boys or men without families, of whom five

came from Leyden. The great sickness of the first winter at Plymouth so thinned the ranks that in the spring there were left twelve heads of families, again split fifty-fifty between Leyden and non-Leyden, and four single men, none of whom had belonged to the Leyden congregation. But three of the six surviving non-Leyden heads of families were Hopkins, Standish, and Warren, who became pillars of the Pilgrim state; and the four surviving bachelors were the famous John Alden, Gilbert Winslow the brother of Edward Winslow, Gardiner who soon returned to England, and a six-year-old boy. This seems to me not a very substantial basis for the claim that a majority of the *Mayflower* passengers were indifferent or hostile persons, who were kept down by a bigoted minority.

Certainly the *Mayflower*'s passenger list included a few "wicked persons and profane people" (as Bradford describes them) like John Billington, who was hanged for murder. Others, good, bad and indifferent, came over in the *Fortune*, the *Anne*, and the *Little James*, in 1621-1623. Toward otherwise-minded persons, the Pilgrims, considering that the Plymouth Colony was their colony and that there was plenty of room for the otherwise-minded elsewhere in New England, behaved with singular kindness, forbearance, and justice. Bradford's story of John Lyford, the lewd parson whom the merchant adventurers sent over, is a diverting instance of the Pilgrims' Christian way of dealing with offenders. As with him, so with others, the greedy and the factious showed themselves up, decamped or were expelled, came to grief, straggled back to Plymouth, begged forgiveness and fresh assistance, received both, betrayed their benefactors again, and again came to grief. The Pilgrims always forgave the injury, and recovered from the wound.

"American Way of Life"

One price the Pilgrims have to pay for their popularity is the attribution to them of many things or trends popular now, but of which they knew nothing and cared less. Democracy is one of these. The log cabin is another; the Pilgrim Fathers built frame houses and knew nothing of the log cabin, which was introduced to America by the Swedes on the Delaware. Religious toleration is a third; the Pilgrims did not believe in it, and Plymouth Colony passed legislation against Quakers and other Dissenters just as did Massachusetts Bay, Virginia, and most of the other colonies, English, French or Spanish. But the most common false attribution of today is that the Pilgrims invented what is vaguely called The American Way of Life. This notion is based on a famous passage in Bradford's *History* in which he describes how their "common course and condition" was

modified by individual land holdings, and how this increased food production and incidentally proved the "vanity of that conceit of Plato's . . . that the taking away of property and bringing in community unto a commonwealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God."

Actually, it was not communism that the Pilgrims gave up, and not *laissez-faire* individualism that they adopted. The capitalists who provided the funds for the *Mayflower* and her voyage had imposed on them a very severe form of servitude. They had to agree that all colonists work for a common fund for seven years, during which they would receive only bare subsistence; and at the end of that time all property acquired and land cultivated would be divided equally among capitalists and colonists, the English shareholder who had contributed about £12 receiving the same as a colonist who had worked for seven years. This system was not of the Pilgrims' choosing; it had been tried earlier in Virginia and had failed there; but it was the only way these almost penniless people could obtain funds for an expensive migration to America.

The grant of allotments did not end hardship and famine at Plymouth; Bradford tells how the following fall, when a ship came in with some newcomers, they burst into tears on seeing how thin and ragged the Pilgrims were. The real economic salvation of the Plymouth Colony was the establishment of Massachusetts Bay in 1630, which gave the Pilgrims a market for their cattle.

Nor in other ways did the Pilgrims approach modern American individualism. They regulated wages as well as prices; they punished people for idleness as well as for drunkenness and Sabbath breaking; they forbade anyone to trade with the Indians unless he belonged to the inner governing body known as the Undertakers, and they restricted freedom of movement. Nobody could leave his home, buy land and settle elsewhere without permission of the Court. Typical items from the Plymouth Colony Records are the following:

Whereas Edward Holman hath been observed to frequent the house of Thomas Shrive at unseasonable times of night, and at other times, . . . The Court have therefore ordered that the said Edward Holman be warned by the Constable of Plymouth that he henceforth do no more frequent or commune at the house of the said Shrive, nor that the wife of the said Shrive do frequent the house or company of the said Holman. (4 May 1652)

Mr. Stephen Hopkins, for suffering servants and others to sit drinking in his house and to play at shuffle board, and such like misdemeanors is therefore fined 40 shillings (2 Oct. 1637). (Later, the same man is) presented for selling beer at 2 pence per quart, not worth a penny.

Web Adey was proved to have profaned divers Lord's days by working sundry times upon them, and had been for the like offence formerly set in the stocks, and was again found guilty, therefore was censured to be severely whipped at the post. (7 July 1638)

John Stockbridge of Scituate is presented for disgraceful speeches tending to the contempt of the government, and for jeering speeches to them that did reprove him for it. (5 June 1638).

Mowers that have taken excessive wages, viz. 3 shillings per diem, are to be presented if they make not restitution. (29 August 1643)

Whereas Joseph Ramsden hath lived long in the woods, in an uncivil way, in the woods, with his wife alone, whereby great inconveniences have followed, the Court have ordered that he repair down to some neighbourhood betwixt this and October next, or that then his house be pulled down. (3 June 1656)

All this was in accord with the general social and economic notions of the period. The Pilgrim state, judging from its records, was just as "nosey," interfering and regulating as the other English colonies.

The Mayflower Lands

Enough of these controversies. Let us return to the events of 1620. On Friday afternoon, 10 November in their calendar (the 20th in ours), the *Mayflower* is making the best of her way around the back side of Cape Cod to the harbor now called Provincetown, within the tip of the Cape. Night-fall finds her off Peaked Hill Bar. The weather is clear and cold; the moon, in her last quarter, rises shortly after one o'clock, lighting up the white sand dunes of Cape Race. Most of the passengers are below, the "graveyard watch" has charge, and on the high poop deck Master Jones and Master's Mate Clark walk briskly to and fro, conferring every now and then, watching the sails, peering into the binnacle, looking up at the stars, and conning the helmsman in the steerage. The watch keep warm by frequently trimming braces, tacks and sheets in order to get the most out of light airs from the south and west; and although the *Mayflower* with her foul bottom can make but a knot or two under these conditions, the flood tide helps her along. Every quarter-hour the leadsman in the chains heaves the hand-lead, and sings out the marks and deeps. It is a night of watchfulness, but not of danger; of quiet anticipation among the passengers over the prospect of landing on the morrow; a night of thankfulness after their narrow escape from the shoals.

During the small hours the *Mayflower* stands off and on, in order not to lose touch with the Cape. Daylight breaking around six o'clock on Saturday 11 November finds her on a southeasterly course working in by Wood

End with a fair tide; at seven o'clock, the sun rises red and clear above the Truro hills; and by the time eight bells are struck, and the watch is changed, the *Mayflower* has weathered Long Point, and is sailing free, headed northeasterly for Provincetown Harbor.

This is the time that Carver and Brewster, Bradford and Winslow have chosen for signing the Mayflower Compact. Breakfast has been eaten, a psalm of praise and thanksgiving sung by all, and an extempore prayer said by Elder Brewster. The sea is smooth, the weather fair, and everyone feeling fine; it will be an hour yet before the course has to be altered and final preparations made for anchoring. So at this opportune moment the leaders summon the other men into the great cabin, read the Compact which they had drafted the day before, and request everyone to sign or make his mark. After that is done, and the generalty dismissed, we may suppose a little quiet handshaking among the leaders, and a few remarks like "Thank God, Governor, that's over!" and "I never expected John Billington to sign—it must have been your prayer that brought him to it, Elder!"

It is now nine or ten o'clock. The bulwarks are so crowded with passengers eager to look upon their new Land of Canaan that the mate has to order them to stand clear of the tackle, that he may work his ship. About a mile off the end of Long Point, Master Jones orders the ship wore, brails up the lower courses, and hauls sharp on the port tack for the inner harbor, feeling his way with armed lead to the best holding ground. It would be about ten or eleven o'clock that the Master orders the square spritsail handed, the mizzen sheet hauled flat, and the foretopsail lowered and clewed up. Mate Clark cries "hard down!" to the helmsman, who answers "hard down, sir," and presently "helm's a-lee!"; and with main topsail aback to check her way, *Mayflower* turns into the wind a furlong from the shore. At the right moment the best bower anchor is let go, and the thick hemp cable, which the seamen have been flaking on the forecastle head since daybreak, is carefully paid out as the anchor fluke bites into unfamiliar bottom, and the ship begins to make sternway. The cable is snubbed on the capstan; and now, as Bradford notes in correct nautical language, "they rode in safety." The *Mayflower* is snugged down in the best and most sheltered anchorage of the Great Harbor of Cape Cod.

Now the ship's longboat is lowered over the side, and an armed landing party of fifteen or sixteen rows her ashore, landing on the point at the southern end of the present Provincetown. Bradford tells how they promptly "fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from

all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. . . .”

“What Could Now Sustain Them?”

For all that, the Pilgrims were in a pretty grim situation. The most skilful orator of today could not even approach Bradford’s vivid image of their plight, and the spirit in which the Pilgrims met it:

. . . Here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people’s present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour. . . . And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? . . . that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. . . . It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them. . . . What could now sustain them but the Spirit of God and His grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: “Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and He heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because He is good, and His mercies endure forever. . . . Let them confess before the Lord His lovingkindness and His wonderful works before the sons of men.”

Bradford, if anything, understates the situation. The Pilgrims knew nothing of the coast they had reached, except what John Smith had written in his *Description of New England*. Supplies on the *Mayflower* were gravely depleted after her ten weeks’ voyage; and there was no oppor-

tunity to produce food for another nine months. Stephen Hopkins had perhaps been in Virginia; but the others had never been anywhere except England and Holland. Simple folk, farmers and artisans, they were unused to handling firearms, ignorant alike of fishing and fur-trading, unfitted by training and temperament to cope with pioneer life on the edge of this savage continent. No group of Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Dutchmen arrived on our shores in the colonial era at so unfavorable a season or so ill equipped; few were so isolated from possible succor. Yet none came through so well.

What other causes can we assign for this, than the Pilgrims' profound faith in God, and God's response to their prayers? Not that they failed to help themselves:—innately capable, though inexperienced people, they did all that men could do, but something more was needed, and that they had—God's assistance. His hand may constantly be seen in their history. The "first encounter" with the natives (at which the Pilgrims made the surprising discovery that the Indians were more afraid of them than they were of the Indians); the caches of corn found buried in the sand; the shallop weathering a December snowstorm and finding shelter in Plymouth Harbor. When a sort of scoutmaster was needed to teach these English rustics the ways of the New World, a lone Indian marches into their settlement crying "Welcome, Englishmen!", and introduces to them Squanto, who teaches them how to plant corn, snare fish, and trap beaver. Then there were the windfalls of corn from Virginia and other unexpected quarters when famine was impending; the mysterious voice that warned them of a fire in the storehouse; the "sweet and gentle showers" that came out of a clear sky just in time to save one year's harvest; the turning back of a ship sent to foreclose the Colony for the merchant creditors. Of the source of these interventions Bradford is so certain that he simply remarks, as they occur, "Behold now another Providence of God!"

Pilgrim Diplomacy

In handling the Indians, our Pilgrim Fathers were notably successful, avoiding alike the harshness and the heedlessness which had cost so many English lives in other colonies. In his dealings with the natives, William Bradford, the farmer's boy from Austerfield, played the part of a frontier Richelieu. Squanto and another friendly Indian, Hobbamock, who drifted into Plymouth, were played off against each other. The Governor "seemed to countenance the one, and Captain Standish the other, by which they had better intelligence, and made them both more diligent." The warlike Narragansetts send a rattlesnake skin by way of challenge; the Governor

returns it filled with bullets, and the Narragansetts decide not to continue the correspondence. Winslow and Hampden visit the friendly Massasoit, find him at death's door after an unusually heavy bout of gluttony, and administer the favorite physic of Dr. Fuller, the Pilgrim physician, with such immediate and surprising effects that Massasoit becomes their friend for life, and warns them of an Indian plot to come down and wipe out Plymouth. When the miserable beachcombers whom Weston had sent over, and who on sundry occasions had made themselves a danger and a nuisance to the Pilgrims, were reported to be in the last extremities at Wessagusset, insulted and tormented by the Neponset Indians, the Pilgrims might well have taken the short view of "good riddance to bad rubbish." But, writes Bradford, "we thought (both by nature and conscience) we were bound to deliver" them. Accordingly Captain Standish marched with the Pilgrim army of eight men to Wessagusset, bearded four Indians in one of the English huts there, killed Peksuot with his own knife, and then despatched two other Indians. There was no more trouble from the Neponsets.

On the one occasion when Pilgrim diplomacy faltered, "another Providence of God" saved them. Squanto, it seems, had made himself obnoxious to other Indians by exploiting his friendship with the English, pretending a power to spread the plague, and sounding a false alarm of impending treachery by Massasoit, who when he heard of it, sent a messenger to demand that Squanto be surrendered up, as one of his subjects. Bradford refused; but the messenger shortly returned, more insistent, accompanied by "divers others" to implement the demand, and bearing "many beavers' skins" to cover the Puritan conscience! Governor Bradford was in a quandary. It was wrong to surrender Squanto to certain death; but the Pilgrims were dependent for their safety on Massasoit's friendship, and the food supply was low. Now, at the very instant when the Governor had made the bad decision to deliver up Squanto, a strange boat was seen to be crossing the harbor. Having heard rumors of French enemies approaching, and fearing a "combination between the savages and them, the Governor told the *Indians* he would first know what boat that was ere he would deliver him into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat." The boat proved to be the tender of a friendly English fisherman who brought news of a food supply at Damiscove Island in Maine. Its timely appearance saved Bradford from a grave mistake in diplomacy; for Massasoit soon recovered from his rage against Squanto, who lived to serve as Bradford's guide and interpreter in his expedition around Cape Cod.

Food and Drink

Food was the first difficulty during the early years. Like all Englishmen of the time, the Pilgrim Fathers felt starved without their favorite provender of wheat bread, beef, and beer; yet time and again they were reduced to short commons of corn bread, shellfish, and water. As Bill Nye wrote in his comic *History of the United States*, "The people were kept busy digging clams to sustain life in order to raise Indian corn enough to give them sufficient strength to pull clams enough the following winter to get them through till the next corn crop should give them strength to dig for clams again!"

Cargo space in the vessels of that time was small, and the voyages so long that every fresh arrival of immigrants meant more mouths to feed, with less food to go round; yet always, when the Colony seemed to be at the last extremity, food was procured from friendly Indians, fishermen or casual traders. No cattle reached Plymouth until the spring of 1624; yet children were born and weaned without milk, and men fought and toiled without beef. Winslow alludes with some scorn to those who "return with their mouths full of clamours" because in New England "they must drink water and want many delicacies." To complaints that "the water is not wholesome," Bradford admitted that it was "not so wholesome as the good beer and wine in London (which they so dearly love)" but insisted that "for water it is as good as any in the world (for aught we know) and it is wholesome enough to us that can be content therewith." Yet the absence of beer evidently irked the good Governor, for in his touching tribute to Elder Brewster, he meditates on the Providence of God that allowed so many Pilgrim Fathers to attain great age. "It must needs be more than ordinary," he writes, "and above natural reason that so it should be; for it is found in experience that change of air, famine, or unwholesome food, much drinking of water, . . . are enemies to health. . . . And yet of all these things they had a large part and suffered deeply in the same. . . . What was it, then, that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits."

"Man Lives Not By Bread Only"

And when all is said and done, this conclusion of the faithful Governor seems to me to express the real significance of the Pilgrim Colony. They were few in number and poor in the goods of this world. They evolved few institutions of any value in American development. They were not great shipbuilders, successful fishermen or fur trappers, or notable farmers.

They were not of gentle or noble blood. Yet those simple folk were exalted to the stature of statesmen and prophets in their limited sphere, because they firmly believed, and so greatly dared, and firmly endured. Their annals illustrate a great and universal law that faith in God brings God's assistance. The Pilgrims' faith brought them triumphant through the perils of the sea and the wilderness, and created a great spiritual tradition that will bear fruit so long as men read the Pilgrim story and believe in the God in whom they believed.

Bradford, after telling of all the "crosses, troubles, fears, wants and sorrows" that they had been through for thirty years, and the relative security that they finally attained, writes, "What was it then that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits." And he concludes with a message of profound significance for us, in this era of uncertainty and tribulation:

God, it seems, would have all men to behold and observe such mercies and works of His providence as these towards His people, that they in like cases might be encouraged to depend on God in their trials, and also bless His name when they see His goodness towards others. Man lives not by bread only. . . . It is not by good and dainty fare, by peace and rest and heart's ease in enjoying the contentments and good things of the world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God in such examples would have the world see and behold that He can do it without them.

Annual Meeting

November, 1951

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at the Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, 21 November 1951, at half after six o'clock in the evening. As the President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., had died on 1 October 1951, Vice-President MORISON took the chair.

With the consent of those present, the reading of the records of the last Stated Meeting was omitted.

Mr. ALFRED PORTER PUTNAM, of Salem, was elected to Resident Membership, and Captain WILLIAM ROBERT CHAPLIN, an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, London, was elected to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

The Treasurer submitted his Annual Report as follows:

Report of the Treasurer

In accordance with the requirements of the By-laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 14 November 1951.

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS, 14 NOVEMBER 1951

ASSETS

Cash:

Income	\$15,166.47	
Loan to Principal	<u>12,437.26</u>	\$2,729.21

Investments at Book Value:

Bonds (Market Value \$151,718.44)	\$155,151.50	
Stocks (Market Value \$200,667.75)	105,030.90	
Savings Bank Deposit	<u>3,082.20</u>	263,264.60
TOTAL ASSETS		<u><u>\$265,993.81</u></u>

FUNDS

Funds	\$245,285.14
Unexpended Income	<u>20,708.67</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u><u>\$265,993.81</u></u>

INCOME CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Balance, 14 November 1950		\$15,173.52
<i>RECEIPTS:</i>		
Dividends	\$9,333.04	
Interest	3,302.39	
Annual Assessments	715.00	
Sales of Publications	310.00	
Sale of Waste Paper	97.50	13,758.13
TOTAL RECEIPTS OF INCOME		\$28,931.65
<i>DISBURSEMENTS:</i>		
Publications	\$4,226.46	
New England Quarterly	3,000.00	
Editor's Salary	1,500.00	
Secretarial Expense	900.00	
Annual Dinner	670.41	
Postage, Office Supplies and Miscellaneous	393.15	
Notices and Expenses of Meetings	350.10	
Storage	300.72	
Auditing Services	125.00	
Massachusetts Historical Society	100.00	
General Expense	43.80	
Safe Deposit Box	24.00	
Interest on Sarah Louise Edes Fund added to Principal	1,850.53	
Interest on Albert Matthews Fund added to Principal	281.01	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS OF INCOME		\$13,765.18
BALANCE OF INCOME, 14 NOVEMBER 1951		\$15,166.47

JAMES M. HUNNEWELL
Treasurer

Report of the Auditing Committee

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer for the year ended 14 November 1951, have attended to their duty by employing Messrs. Stewart, Watts and Bollong, Public Accountants and Auditors, who have made an audit of the accounts and examined the securities on deposit in Box 91 in the New England Trust Company.

We herewith submit their report, which has been examined and accepted by the Committee.

WILLARD G. COGSWELL

ARTHUR S. PIER

Auditing Committee

The Treasurer's Report was accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year the following list was presented; and a ballot having been taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

President Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT

Vice-Presidents SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE

Recording Secretary ROBERT EARLE MOODY

Corresponding Secretary ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Treasurer JAMES MELVILLE HUNNEWELL

Member of the Council for Three Years REGINALD FITZ

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were Mr. Arthur Stanton Burnham, Major General C. G. Helmick, Mr. Frank Mitchell, Rear Admiral Hewlett Thebaud, Mr. T. H. Thomas, Mr. Norman Dahl. The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE said grace.

After dinner, the Annual Report of the Council was read by Mr. ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, Jr.

Report of the Council

THE Society held four meetings during the year. The annual dinner took place on 21 November 1950, and there were three afternoon meetings. On 28 December 1950, at the Club of Odd Volumes, Mr. Robert Peabody Bellows read a paper, "Whither Away? The Search for the Frame of the First King's Chapel." On 15 February 1951, at the same Club, Mr. Wendell S. Hadlock read a paper, "The Islesford Museum and Some of Its Aspects." On 26 April 1951 we met in the evening at No. 2 Gloucester Street as the guest of the President, who was lamentably kept away by illness. The two papers were read by Rev. Joseph R.

Freese, S.J., on "Writs of Assistance," and by Mr. Jerome D. Green, on "Milford Haven: a Colony of Massachusetts in Great Britain."

Volume 35 of the *Publications*, covering transactions of meetings for the years 1942-1946, appeared in the summer. Frederick B. Allis, Jr., is completing the editing of the Maine land grant papers left to the Society by George Nixon Black of Ellsworth. To these he is adding many valuable documents from the Bingham estate and elsewhere, so that the volumes of *Collections*, which will be our next publication, will contain new and valuable material concerning the District of Maine. The Council has recently recommended a proposal by Mr. Sumner C. Powell to edit a volume of *Collections* containing the seventeenth-century records of the town meetings of Sudbury, Massachusetts, with annotations concerning the settlement of the town and the systems of land tenure that were familiar to the settlers.

The Society has continued its support of the *New England Quarterly* of which it is joint publisher.

The adoption of new By-laws at the last Annual Meeting, which made important changes in the classes of membership, resulted in the election of a number of new members and the transfer of a number of old members to new classes. The following gentlemen have been elected in the past year:

Resident:

JOHN PHILLIPS COOLIDGE
BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE
DAVID BRITTON LITTLE
DAVID PINGREE WHEATLAND
STEPHEN WHEATLAND
GORDON THAXTER BANKS
BUCHANAN CHARLES
I. BERNARD COHEN
DENNIS ALOYSIUS DOOLEY
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
DAVID MILTON KENDALL MCKIBBIN
DAVID THOMPSON WATSON MCCORD
RICHARD DONALD PIERCE
VERNON DALE TATE
STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY
ROBERT DALE RICHARDSON
DOUGLAS SWAIM BYERS
EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON

Corresponding:

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG

MARION VERNON BREWINGTON

HENRY BESTON

Non-Resident:

ARTHUR ADAMS

Honorary:

JULIAN PARKS BOYD

DOUGLAS SOUTHALL FREEMAN

With the abolition of the ancestral requirement all Associate Members were transferred to Resident or Non-Resident Membership, while other changes in the By-laws resulted in the transfer of several Resident and Corresponding Members to the new class of Non-Resident Members.

With great regret we report that seven members have died during the year.

OGDEN CODMAN, Resident, 1908, Corresponding, 1946, was one of our earliest members at the time of his death on 8 January 1951 in France where he had lived for many years. Distinguished both as an architect and as a student of the history of architecture, he had a great knowledge of the history of Boston, its buildings and its families.

HAROLD HITCHINGS BURBANK, Resident, 1927, died 7 February 1951 in his sixty-fourth year. Going from Dartmouth to Harvard, he became a Doctor of Philosophy in 1915 and was at once made Chairman of the Board of Tutors in History, Government and Economics. He directed the introductory course in the principles of economics for more than twenty years. He loved teaching economics, but he cared even more about developing the minds of young men. Few Harvard professors have ever worked with as many students individually as he did. For thirty years he carried on a research project into the evolution of the colonial property tax in a group of Massachusetts towns, but left it unfinished because his students and his department always came first.

ROBERT FRANCIS SEYBOLT, Corresponding, 1933, died 5 February 1951 at the age of sixty-three. A graduate of Brown University with his doctorate from Columbia, he taught the history of education for thirty-eight years, first at the University of Wisconsin and since 1920 at the University of Illinois. Among his many publications were his translation of the Autobiography of a Wandering Scholar of the Fifteenth Century and several books on schools in the New England colonies and New York. He

enriched our *Proceedings* with scholarly information about the schoolmasters of colonial Boston and the ministers at its town meetings.

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS, Associate, 1937, Resident, 1950, died 2 March 1951. Descended from a Danish ship-captain who settled in Boston a century ago, coal merchant and scholar, contributor of many papers to the Massachusetts Historical Society and for ten years its difficult and devoted Treasurer.

WILLIAM GWINN MATHER, Corresponding, 1927, died 5 April 1951 in his ninety-sixth year. An iron and steel manufacturer in Cleveland since 1878, trustee of three colleges, president of the Cleveland Museum of Art—a range of interests that his ancestor Cotton Mather would have admired. A collector of the works of the Mather family, he placed scholars and librarians permanently in his debt by inspiring the publication of the magnificent bibliography of their writings.

RICHARD CLIPSTON STURGIS, Resident, 1916, was transferred to Corresponding Membership in 1933, when upon his retirement from the active practice of architecture, he moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. There he died on 8 May 1951 in his ninety-first year. Born in Boston in 1860 of a family famous in the China trade, he graduated from Harvard in 1881 and then studied architecture in England. To his native city of Boston he gave the Federal Reserve Bank and other notable buildings, and motorists driving along the Charles River are delighted by the Perkins Institution for the Blind, whose inmates will never know the beauty of its tower. For this Society he designed in the First Church in Boston the doorway honoring Thomas Hutchinson, who as governor and historian served Massachusetts well, and the memorial rail to Henry Herbert Edes, our founder and chief benefactor.

AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr., Resident, 1931, Recording Secretary for thirteen years, President of this Society since 1946, died 1 October 1951. A great citizen and a good friend.

The report was accepted and referred to the Committee on Publication.

Vice-President MORISON paid brief but eloquent tribute to the Society's late President, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, Jr. Mr. DAVID McCORD read a group of witty and ingenious poems. Mr. JULIAN PARKS BOYD then addressed the Society and its guests upon "The Black Affair of Westover."

December Meeting, 1951

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, No. 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 20 December 1951, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT, in the chair.

The records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. ALFRED PORTER PUTNAM accepting election to Resident Membership in the Society.

Mr. SUMNER CHILTON POWELL, of Cambridge, Mr. HOWARD ARTHUR JONES, of Boston, Mr. AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, of Prides Crossing, Mr. JAMES OTIS, of Needham, Mr. JOHN ADAMS, of South Lincoln, and Mr. ALEXANDER WHITESIDE WILLIAMS, of Needham, were elected to Resident Membership; Mr. WHITFIELD JENKS BELL, Jr., of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the Reverend JOSEPH RAPHAEL FRESE, S.J., of New York City, and Mr. WILLIAM LEWIS SACHSE, of Madison, Wisconsin, were elected to Non-Resident Membership, and Mr. DOUGLASS ADAIR, of Williamsburg, Virginia, Mr. MARIUS BARBEAU, of Ottawa, Canada, Mr. LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, of Williamsburg, Virginia, Mr. OLIVER MORTON DICKERSON, of Greeley, Colorado, Mr. LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, of Rydal, Pennsylvania, the Reverend ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON, of Williamsburg, Virginia, Mr. JOHN EDWIN POMFRET, of Williamsburg, Virginia, Mr. FOSTER STEARNS, of Exeter, New Hampshire, and Mr. LOUIS BOOKER WRIGHT, of Washington, D. C., were elected to Corresponding Membership in the Society.

Mr. SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON read a paper entitled:

The *Mayflower's* Destination, and the Pilgrim Fathers' Patents

A PROBLEM of recurring interest to every historian of Plymouth Colony and of New England is the destination of the *Mayflower*. Was it Virginia, or the mouth of the Hudson, or somewhere in southern New England; and if so, whereabouts in New England? We all know where she did end her voyage, but where did her company intend to conclude it? And, as this question is bound up with that of the patents which the Pilgrim company received from the Virginia Company of London and the Council for New England, I propose to treat the two together. Hardly any two historians have agreed on these two subjects; even our late associate Charles McLean Andrews, whose trumpet seldom gave forth an uncertain sound, came to no conclusion as to the Pilgrims' exact intended destination.

Of the *Mayflower's* Western Ocean passage between 6 September 1620, when she "put to sea with a prosperous wind," from Plymouth, England, and her anchoring in Cape Cod Harbor on 11 November, nothing is known except what is contained in Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*, and in the so-called *Mourt's Relation*, the tract printed in 1622 which consists of extracts from the journals of Bradford and of Edward Winslow. From these sources it is not clear whether or not the master intended to make his landfall on Cape Cod. The *Mayflower* may well have been thrown a hundred miles or more off her intended course by foul weather. "In sundry of these storms," writes Bradford, "the winds were so fierce and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull [i.e., lay-to] for divers days together." And, "after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod," about daybreak 9 November 1620.¹ Captain W. Sears Nickerson, who carefully studied the existing sources in the light of his extensive local knowledge and competent seamanship, concluded that this landfall was made on the Highlands at or very near latitude 41° 55' N.

"After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship," continues Bradford, "they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation." Or, as *Mourt's Relation*

¹ Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, S. E. Morison, ed., 1952, 59; W. S. Nickerson, *Land Ho!—1620* (1931), 115.

has it, "We made our course south-southwest, purposing to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape."²

Postponing consideration as to whether this river was or was not the Hudson, there is complete agreement between the Bradford of *Mourt's Relation* and the Bradford of the *History* that the *Mayflower* found herself at the close of 9 November entangled in the "dangerous shoals and roaring breakers" of Pollock Rip, with a dying and unfavorable wind; and that it was then decided "to bear up again for the Cape."

At daybreak, 11 November, the *Mayflower* was off Cape Cod (now Provincetown) Harbor. It was then that the major part of the male passengers signed the famous Mayflower Compact. This document states in plain and unmistakable terms that, "Having undertaken, for the Glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern parts of Virginia," they solemnly covenant and combine themselves into a civil body politic. Bradford plainly and unmistakably states the reason for this action: that some of the "strangers" intruded into the company by the merchant adventurers had threatened "when they came ashore they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another government with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do."³

Here, then, is a perfectly clear sequence of events and motives. The Pilgrims had a patent for Virginia; i.e., for the Virginia of the London Company, which according to its latest charter, that of 1612, extended to latitude 41° N,⁴ which passes through Westchester County in the present State of New York. After ascertaining that their landfall was on Cape Cod, those directing the *Mayflower* decided to steer for the mouth of the Hudson, or of a river ten leagues to the south of Cape Cod. But that very evening, owing to the weather, the shoals, and perhaps the late season, they decided instead to make for the great harbor of Cape Cod. And there, realizing that they were well north of the northern boundary of Virginia, they made a compact for self-government until such time as they could obtain a valid patent from that "other government with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do," namely, the Council for New England.

All this seems sensible enough, when we remember that Virginia did

² H. M. Dexter, ed., 1865, 2.

³ Bradford, 75; 1912 ed., I. 189-191.

⁴ William MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 18.

then include the mouth of the Hudson, where the Dutch had not yet settled, and that the *Mayflower* carried in her strongbox a patent from the Virginia Company. If this had been an ordinary voyage, and the Pilgrim Fathers ordinary people, there would be no question about it. But, as in all extraordinary voyages, like those of Columbus, plain facts have been twisted by many and sundry to mean something else.

Suppose we start at the beginning. Bradford says in his Chapter V, "Showing what Means they Used for Preparation for this Weighty Voyage," that, after long discussion as to the place they should settle, the Leyden congregation reached the conclusion "to live as a distinct body by themselves under the General Government of Virginia."⁵

What this last clause meant is also perfectly clear. In 1617 the Virginia Company of London began the practice of granting large tracts of land, up to 80,000 acres, to groups of individuals who would undertake to people and to cultivate them. Such grants were known as "Particular Plantations" or "Hundreds." They carried special privileges such as local self-government, jurisdiction as in a manor, fishing rights, and permission to carry on an independent trade with the Indians. Over forty such grants were made during the remaining seven years of the Virginia Company's life, to 1624; and although most of them (like that of the Pilgrims) were never taken up, a fair number were actually established.⁶ The best known were Richard Martin's Hundred, John Martin's Brandon, Smith's or Southampton Hundred (80,000 acres on the north side of the James River), Smyth of Nibley's or Berkeley's Hundred, Zouche's Hundred, and Fleur de Hundred. All these were organized before leaving England, with a governor and council and "conducted themselves as a miniature of the larger company from which they received their patent."⁷ The one patent of a Particular Plantation, Smyth of Nibley's, that has been preserved, does not specify where the Hundred was to be, merely that it should not be within ten miles of any other.⁸ The procedure was

⁵ Bradford, 29; 1912 ed., 65.

⁶ These Particular Plantations have never been made the subject of an intensive study; P. A. Bruce is exasperatingly vague about them in his *Institutional History of Virginia*, II. 290-294, 327; the best study so far is in C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, I. 128-133. There was to have been a Puritan Particular Plantation earlier, Francis Blackwell's; Bradford is the sole authority on his unfortunate voyage and shipwreck in 1618-1619.

⁷ Andrews, I. 132.

⁸ *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, III (1899), 162, where the Smyth of Nibley patent is printed. Some fifty papers of this Hundred are in the New York Public Library. There is a calendar of them in *Bulletin*, I. 186-190, and many of the documents are printed in I. 68-72 and III. 160-171, 208-223, 248-258, 276-

for the patentee or company, upon arrival in Virginia, to choose a suitable site and then obtain a warrant for the land, with its boundaries described, from the secretary's office at Jamestown.

The first of two such patents that the Pilgrim Fathers obtained for a Particular Plantation was granted on 9 June 1619 by the Virginia Company of London to John Wincop,⁹ whom Bradford describes as "a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them. But God so disposed that he never went, nor they ever made use of this patent which cost them so much labor and charge."¹

Subsequent to the granting of this patent, and after the leaders of the migratory movement among the Leyden congregation had been somewhat put off by the refusal of the majority to leave, "some Dutchmen made them fair offers" to go to New Netherland,² and "one Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant of London" came to persuade them "not to meddle with the Dutch or too much to depend on the Virginia Company," since "he and such merchants as were his friends" would take better care of them.³ And "about this time also they had heard, both from Mr. Weston and other, that sundry Honourable Lords had obtained a large grant from the King for the more northerly parts of that country, derived out of the Virginia patent and wholly secluded from their Government, and to be called by another name, viz. New England." This, of course, was the Council for New England, a reorganization of the Northern Virginia Company of 1606, of which the principal leader was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It was he who with sundry other "honourable lords," members of the Northern Virginia Company, petitioned for a new charter in March, 1620.⁴ Bradford states that Weston's arguments as to the good fishing to be had in New England converted a majority of the intended emigrants

295. John Smyth of Nibley, M.P., was a very important person in England who never emigrated; the best account of him is by Wallace Notestein in the introduction to his *Commons Debates 1621* (New Haven, 1935), I. 69-86.

⁹ Susan Kingsbury, ed., *Records of Virginia Co. of London*, I. 221, 228.

¹ Bradford, 34; 1912 ed., I. 95. Wincop was tutor or chaplain in the household of Thomas Fiennes-Clinton, third Earl of Lincoln, whose daughters were Lady Arbella Johnson and Lady Susan Humfry of the Massachusetts Bay migration. The patent has not survived; nor do we know why it was unsatisfactory. Although Wincop did not migrate, he could have assigned the patent to those who did, as John Peirce must have done.

² Bradford, 37; W. C. Ford gives all the particulars of this offer from Dutch sources in the 1912 ed., I. 99.

³ For Weston and his group of Merchant Adventurers, see Andrews, I. 261, 330-331.

⁴ MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 23-33; *Documentary History of Maine*, VII. 15-18.

in the Leyden congregation since, after much discussion pro and con, "the generality was swayed" to New England.⁵

But there were several reasons why the Pilgrim Fathers should not have headed for New England. For one thing, Gorges and the "honourable lords" did not succeed in getting their New England charter through the seals before the *Mayflower* sailed. The charter was held up because they wanted a monopoly of fishing in New England waters, against which the Virginia Company and others vigorously protested.⁶ Sentiment against monopolies had by this time become so strong in England that the government did not see fit to grant a fishing monopoly to the "honourable lords."⁷ Owing to this delay, the Council for New England had not yet come to life when the Pilgrims departed, and obviously could not grant them a patent.

Furthermore, the Pilgrims had already in hand a second patent from the Virginia Company to replace that of Mr. Wincop, who apparently decided not to emigrate, which voided his grant. This second patent (also called the First Peirce Patent) was granted 2 February 1619/20 to John Peirce, citizen and clothier of London, a close associate of Thomas Weston and of the Virginia Company. And on the same day the Virginia Company passed a very liberal ordinance for Particular Plantations, granting to their "captains or leaders . . . liberty, till a Form of Government be here settled for them, associating unto them divers of the gravest

⁵ Bradford, 39; 1912 ed. 1. 103. This is the passage relied upon by Bradford Smith, *Bradford of Plymouth*, 108-109, to prove that the *Mayflower* was really headed for New England from the first.

⁶ Andrews, 1. 263, with numerous references. This lack of fishing monopoly also made investment in the Pilgrim migration much less attractive to Weston and his associates, and partly explains the hard conditions that they exacted.

⁷ The sentiment against a fishing monopoly is reflected in the debate in Parliament in 1621, where Gorges and Sir John Bouchier of the Council for New England are described as "two Mercuries" who "would monopolize the fishing" and deny others liberty to cut wood and erect fishing stages; "theis New England men will neither plant themselves nor suffer the laborynge oxe." F. L. Stock, *Proceedings and Debates in British Parliament Respecting North America*, 1. 37-38, and Notestein, *Commons Debates 1621*, v. 378-379. In Lord Baltimore's charter of Maryland 12 years later, although his lordship was granted virtually sovereign powers over his propriety, fishing rights were expressly excepted; for the Charter states in Article XVI, "Saving always to Us, our Heirs and Successors, and to all the Subjects of Our Kingdoms of England and Ireland, of Us, our Heirs and Successors, the Liberty of Fishing for sea fish, as well in the sea, bays, straits and navigable rivers, as in the harbors, bays and creeks of the province aforesaid; and the privilege of salting and drying fish on the shores of the same province; and, for that cause, to cut down and take hedging wood and twigs there growing, and to build huts and cabins, necessary in this behalf."—Translation in F. N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, etc., III. 1683-1684.

and discretest of their companies, to make Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions for the better ordering and directing of their Servants and Business, Provided they be not repugnant to the Laws of England.” In other words, a Particular Plantation was guaranteed a very wide autonomy within the Virginia Colony. Here was not only a grant of land that could be located anywhere up to or including Manhattan, but encouragement for the Pilgrim Fathers to form and enjoy self-government; the famous Mayflower Compact was first suggested by the Virginia Company.⁸

It was this Peirce Patent of 2 February 1620, which the Pilgrims carried overseas with them and which became invalid when they located north of latitude 41° N. Weston’s agreement with them, dated 1 July 1620, was made in expectation that they would either use this Peirce Patent from Virginia or obtain a new one from the Council for New England if there were time. But, as we have seen, the New England charter did not pass the seals until the *Mayflower* was almost at the end of her voyage.

I conclude, therefore, that the Pilgrims, though preferring New England because of its well-advertised fishing, proposed instead to settle “some place about Hudson’s River” because the only patent that they had, the Peirce Patent from the Virginia Company, was good for that region. The mouth of the Hudson was not too far from the New England fishing banks, it was magnificently located for the fur trade, and it was sufficiently distant from Jamestown to make the Particular Plantation free from religious or other interference by the Virginia government. Of course they must have known, during their residence in the Netherlands, that the Dutch claimed Hudson River by virtue of Henry Hudson’s voyage in 1609, and that they had already been actively exploring and trading in that region. But they also knew that England had never admitted that claim,⁹ that no permanent settlement or even trading factory had yet been established on or near the Hudson by the Dutch. Fort Orange, on the site of Albany, was only established in 1624, and New Amsterdam on Manhattan in 1626.¹ If the *Mayflower*’s voyage had been

⁸ Kingsbury, I. 303. This hint of the future compact from the Virginia Company is dated 2 February 1619/20, whilst the Rev. John Robinson’s better-known hint about their civil community, body politic and choice of magistrates is in a letter of about 1 August 1620. Bradford, 370; 1912 ed., I. 132–134.

⁹ Council for New England in 1625 asserted its claim to the Hudson region, causing a Dutch ship, *Orangenboom*, to be detained at Plymouth, England, on the ground that it was unlawfully bound for Manhattan. (A. S. F. Van Laer, *Documentis Relating to New Netherland*, in the H. E. Huntington Library, 1924, 261); and so in 1627 did Governor Bradford (*Letter-Book*, 364–365).

¹ Victor Paltsits, in *Proc. A.A.S.*, xxxii (1924), 39–65. Paltsits proves that the yarn of Samuel Argall’s calling at Manhattan in 1613, and finding Dutch traders

more auspicious and her Hudson River destination had been attained, it is highly probable that the Pilgrims would have pitched their settlement on the site of New York City, with possibilities too fantastic even to contemplate!

There remain two other questions to be dealt with: the river "ten leagues south," and the alleged treachery of the master of the *Mayflower*.

Mourt's Relation, as we have seen, does not mention the Hudson by name, but states that the Pilgrims, after their landfall on Cape Cod, purposed "to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape." This was taken right out of Bradford's own journal, so there would seem to be no question but that his statement in the *History*, written down in 1630, that their destination was the Hudson, was an elucidation of the earlier one, written in 1620 or 1621. I conclude that the "river ten leagues to the south" was the Hudson and not the Sakonnet, the Thames or some other Connecticut river, as several local historians have asserted.

It would help us to reconcile the *Mourt's Relation* statement—printed in 1622—with Bradford's statement of 1630, if we knew what charts or maps of the coast the *Mayflower* had in her chart room. No hint, so far as I can find, has been given by Bradford or any of the early writers on that subject. So we have to inquire what maps or charts were available. Here, too, the information is very meager and dubious. Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia, first printed at Oxford in 1612, includes the Chesapeake Bay region only. The same author's Map of New England, which appeared in his *Description* thereof (1616), chops off the southern part of Cape Cod and includes neither Buzzards Bay nor Long Island Sound. The Pilgrims doubtless had a copy of this map on board, since they took from it the name Plymouth, but it did them no good in trying to find the Hudson. So far as we are aware, no English map of the eastern coast of North America existed in 1620 which would have been of the slightest use to the Pilgrim Fathers.²

Dutch maps tell a different story. A fairly accurate map of the coast from Maine to New Jersey, generally known as the Figurative Map, was presented to the States General in 1616 by Dutch merchant-ship-owners who were afterwards chartered as the United New Netherland Company.³ It shows the result of the recent voyages of Adrien Block, there whom he compelled to recognize English authority, is completely devoid of foundation in fact.

² Earl G. Swem, "Maps Relating to Virginia," *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library*, VII (1914), 41-44.

³ A. C. Flick, *History of the State of New York*, I (1933), 165-168. The Figurative Map of 1616 is reproduced in *Documents Relative to Colonial History of New*

Hendrik Christiaensen and Cornelis Hendricksen along the New England coast from Manhattan to Mt. Desert. For the period, this Figurative Map is a fairly accurate chart. But it seems unlikely that so obscure a group as the Pilgrim Fathers could have obtained a copy of a map prepared by a group of important merchants who were seeking a monopoly of that region.⁴ Possibly, however, the Pilgrims obtained a manuscript Dutch map of the coast in 1618–1619, when “some Dutchmen made them fair offers about going with them.”

There are several editions of Mercator’s *Atlas*, starting with the one of 1607, which the Pilgrims might have had; but Mercator’s charts of this coast, until well on into the seventeenth century, showed a continuous shoreline from the southern part of Cape Cod to Cape Hatteras, with no Long Island Sound. Such charts would have done the Pilgrims no good whatsoever.

English mariners in 1620 did not cross the ocean blind. The master of the *Mayflower*, or the mate who had been to America before, must have had one or more manuscript charts prepared by practical seamen. But it is fruitless to conjecture *what* chart, if any, the *Mayflower* had of southern New England, for all English manuscript charts of that period have perished.

If the Pilgrims had a Dutch chart similar to the Figurative Map of 1616, the ten leagues of southing mentioned by “Mourt” is readily explicable. For on the Figurative Map, the southern point of Cape Cod (Monomoy) is in latitude 40° 50′ N. The Narrows of New York Harbor and Sandy Hook, either of which might be considered to be the mouth of the Hudson, are in latitude 40° 30′ N., and 40° 20′ N., respectively. These differences of latitude—twenty and thirty minutes—are near enough for ten leagues, which is 30 nautical miles or minutes.

The alleged treachery of Christopher Jones, master of the *Mayflower*, goes back to Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of the Plymouth Colony and nephew by marriage to Governor Bradford. Morton wrote in his *New Englands Memoriall* (1669)⁵ that, whilst “their Intention . . . and his Engagement was to Hudsons River,” some Dutchmen who wished to locate there themselves bribed him, first “by delayes whilst they were in *England*, and now under pretence of the danger of the Sholes, etc., to dis-

York, E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., I. 13, and separately; more recently in I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan*, II (1916), ch. iii, plate 23.

⁴ A bit of negative evidence is this: the Figurative Map shows Plymouth Bay very clearly and names it Crane Bay; but Bradford never used this name or any other name that is on the Figurative Map.

⁵ P. 12; 1855 ed., 22.

appoint them in their going thither." Of this Morton says he "had late and certain Intelligence."

Worthington C. Ford, in a lengthy note to his edition of Bradford,⁶ examines this story from every angle, and rejects it. He conjectures that Morton got it from Thomas Willett, that bright young man among the Pilgrims who joined Nicolls' expedition that captured New Amsterdam in 1664, and who became the first English mayor of New York; or from John Scott, the adventurer who aspired to be lord and proprietor of Long Island. This "late and certain Intelligence" must have reached Morton at a time when the Netherlands were England's principal enemy, when the Dutch were presumably capable of any villainy as, at later epochs, the French, the Germans, and in our day, the Russians.

In any event, there is no need to assume treachery on the part of Master Jones to explain why the *Mayflower* did not sail on to Long Island Sound. Any seaman who has weathered Cape Cod will accept the "dangerous shoals and roaring breakers" of a yet undredged and unbuoyed Pollock Rip as sufficient explanation of the change of course.

Finally, to clinch the evidence that the Pilgrims did intend to settle near the mouth of the Hudson, and so within Virginia, we have the testimony of John Pory, Secretary of the Virginia Colony, who visited Plymouth in 1622. In his account of that visit he states flatly that "their [the Pilgrims'] voyage was intended for Virginia," that they carried letters of introduction from Sir Edwin Sandys and John Ferrar, Treasurer and Secretary of the Virginia Company, to Sir George Yeardley, Governor of the Jamestown colony, "that he should give them the best advice he could for trading in Hudson's River."⁷ Supposing they had reached that great river mouth and located on Manhattan, or Staten Island, or the Brooklyn shore, the Pilgrims would have dispatched the *Mayflower* to Jamestown with the Peirce Patent, recorded it, and obtained a warrant for their chosen settlement and its boundaries. There is no doubt in my mind that Yeardley and the Council at Jamestown would have welcomed a settlement of Englishmen at the Hudson River's mouth and would have done all in their power to further it. Only seven years earlier the Jamestown authorities had sent Samuel Argall down east to break up the French settlements at Mount Desert and Port Royal. It seems to me that the authorities at Jamestown would have snapped at the chance to

⁶ 1912 ed., I. 158-161.

⁷ John Pory, *Lost Description of Plymouth* (Champlin Burrage, ed., 1918), 35. Pory's statement seems to dispose of Andrews' contention (I. 133, 259) that the Virginia Company never would have allowed the Pilgrims to settle so far from Jamestown as the Hudson.

establish at the mouth of the Hudson an English outpost against the Dutch.⁸

Of course, the Dutch would have had something to say about it, too; but again, they might not have dared to risk a war with England by offering violence to her subjects, although that is exactly what they did in the Amboyna massacre in the East Indies three years later.⁹ They might well have endeavored to dislodge the Pilgrims from Manhattan or Staten Island; but by the time the Dutch West Indies Company had enough force at its disposal to try conclusions, the Pilgrims would have been well established and reinforced by men and munitions from England and Virginia.

Even though the Dutch did get there first, Peter Minuit and his council were so alarmed at Governor Bradford's mild reminder of the English claim to that region in 1627, that they wrote to the West India Company, who passed the word to the States General, that "The English of New Plymouth threatened to drive away those there," and asked for forty soldiers to defend New Amsterdam against a possible assault by the Pilgrims—a request that was not honored. Thus, if the Dutch at New Amsterdam were so afraid of the Pilgrims in 1627, it seems very unlikely that they would have attacked a Pilgrim settlement at the mouth of the Hudson. So much has been written about the slender population and low state of the Plymouth Colony that we forget it was the strongest European colony north of Virginia until 1630; stronger, indeed, than Virginia after the Indian massacre of 1622.¹

Since the Pilgrims decided to settle in New England, where the Peirce Patent from the Virginia Company was invalid, they found it necessary to obtain another from the Council for New England. Accordingly, John Peirce applied for, and obtained in his own name, a second Peirce Patent, dated 1 June 1621.² This patent was unsatisfactory to the Pilgrims for

⁸ It is interesting to note that the Virginia Company contemplated giving the Pilgrims the task of training and bringing up sundry Indian children. The General Court of the Virginia Company of London (Kingsbury, I. 310-311) on 16 February 1619/20, upon motion of Sir John Wolstenholme, a friend of the Pilgrims, took into consideration giving "John Peirce and his Associates" this charge. But a special committee reported that "for divers reasons" this would be "inconvenient": (1) the Pilgrims did not intend to sail for several months; (2) they would "be long in settling themselves"; (3) the Indians were "not acquainted with them." The Indian children were therefore apportioned among Smith's, Berkeley's and Martin's Hundreds.

⁹ Channing, *United States*, I. 121.

¹ J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I. 180-181, and his *Documents Relative to Colonial History of New York*, I. 38.

² The legal implications and limitations of this patent are described in Andrews, I. 280. It is printed in Bradford, 1912 ed., I. 246-251, with facsimile of the original.

several reasons, especially because it mentioned no boundaries.³ John Peirce, still prominent among Weston's Adventurers who financed the Plymouth Colony, now took advantage of this dissatisfaction to "pull a fast one" on the Pilgrims. He surrendered his Patent of 1621 to the Council and received in turn a deed poll, dated 20 April 1622, which in effect turned the Plymouth Colony into Peirce's personal proprietary colony. This arrangement was so unacceptable to the Pilgrims and to their London Associates as well, that they induced Peirce to surrender his deed poll to James Sherley, treasurer of Weston's Company of Adventurers, in return for £500. This sum was never paid, and Peirce carried the case into Chancery.⁴

According to Andrews, "The former patent of 1621 was restored to full validity, and until 1630 this patent furnished the only title that the Pilgrims had to their lands and the only right they had in law to exist as a self-governing community."⁵ That probably was the case; certainly the colony and their London associates, and the Council for New England, acted on the assumption that the Peirce Patent of 1621 was still good and that the deed poll was null and void.

Naturally, the Pilgrims were uneasy as long as that patent assigned no boundaries to the colony. Bradford made frequent attempts, through Allerton and the London associates, to obtain a new patent from the Council, with definite boundaries. His efforts were rewarded in time to give Plymouth Colony a legal defense against Massachusetts Bay. On 13 January 1629/30 the Council for New England granted unto "William Bradford, his heirs, associates and assigns, all that part of New England in America" between Cohasset River on the north and Narragansett River on the south.⁶ It included, defined and enlarged the Plymouth Colony's grant on the Kennebec River, around the site of the future Augusta, for which a patent had already been obtained from the Council in 1627.

The patent of 13 January 1629/30, often called the Warwick Patent after its principal signer, made William Bradford legally the sole lord

³ Boundaries were not mentioned in the Virginia Company's patents to the Particular Plantations because they were settled upon at Jamestown after the patentees arrived; in New England, however, there was no Jamestown since the Council never did establish a colony or a general government of its own. Hence the omission of boundaries from this patent was serious.

⁴ His bill in Chancery is printed in *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LXVII (1913), 147-153, and the case is discussed by Andrews, I. 282-283, who, unnecessarily I think, couples Peirce with Lyford as victims of Pilgrim misrepresentation.

⁵ I. 283.

⁶ *Compact, Charters and Laws of the Colony of New Plymouth* (Wm. Brigham, ed., 1836), 21-26; in part in MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 51-53.

and proprietor of the Plymouth Colony. He could, had he chosen, have been the William Penn or the Lord Baltimore of New England. But that was a rôle to which the Pilgrim governor did not aspire. In the first place, taking advantage of the term "associates" in the patent, he required Winslow, Allerton and some of the leading "Old Comers" to share his responsibility in making land grants. The colony continued to be governed as before by the freemen and their annually elected General Court. And in March 1640/41, after the freemen had evinced some jealousy over the potentialities of Bradford and the "Old Comers" disposing of all the ungranted land, the governor and his associates voluntarily assigned their powers under the Warwick Patent to the colony in its corporate capacity. That made no change in the legality of the patent.

From January, 1630, until Plymouth Colony was annexed to the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1692,⁷ the Warwick Patent, like the earlier Peirce Patent, "furnished the only title that the Pilgrims had to their lands," their only legal defense against the encroachments of Massachusetts Bay, and "the only right they had in law to exist as a self-governing community."

LIST OF THE PATENTS OBTAINED BY OR FOR THE PLYMOUTH COLONY

1. WYNCOP PATENT of 9 June 1619, from the Virginia Company of London. Text has disappeared. References: Kingsbury ed., *Records of the Virginia Company*, 1. 221, 228; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 34, 39*n*; 1912 ed., 1. 95; Andrews, 1. 258-262, 290, 293.

2. FIRST PEIRCE PATENT, 2 February 1619/20, from the Virginia Company of London. Text has disappeared. References: Kingsbury ed., *Records*, 1. 299, 303, 311, 315; Bradford, 39*n*, 60*n*, 75, 93*n*, 124, 362*n*; 1912 ed., 1. 101*n*, 189*n*, 234*n*; Andrews, 1. 261-262, 264, 279-280.

3. SECOND PEIRCE PATENT, 1 June 1621, from the Council for New England. Original in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth; text printed with facsimile in Bradford 1912 ed., 1. 246-251. References: Samuel F. Haven, "History of Grants under the Great Council for New England," in *Lectures Before Lowell Institute on Early History of Massachusetts* (1867), 148, 152; Andrews, 1. 279-283, 292, 294, 337*n*, 357; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 93, 108, 429*n*.

4. JOHN PEIRCE'S DEED POLL, 20 April 1622, from the Council for New England. Text has disappeared and it never was put into effect. References,

⁷ Except for the Dominion of New England period, 1686-1689. Viola Barnes, *Dominion of New England* (1923), 27-28.

see page 397 above; *Lectures Lowell Institute*, 152; Bradford, ch. xii (1623); 1912 ed., II. 306, 308 and note.

5. CAPE ANN PATENT, 1 January 1623/24, from Lord Sheffield of the Council for New England, which had already granted it to him. Original in Essex Institute, Salem. Five hundred acres on Cape Ann, plus 30 acres for each planter, to "lie together upon the said [Massachusetts] Bay in one place, and not straggling." Text and facsimile of original in 1912 ed., I. 406-410; numerous other references in Bradford's text.

6. KENNEBEC PATENT, 1627 or 1628, from Council for New England. There is no mention of this in the Council Records, probably because it was swallowed up in No. 7. Text in Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, 262-263. References: Bradford, 193, 200-202, 211, 215, 264-265; 1912 ed., II. 18, 40, map at 176; H. S. Burrage, *Beginnings of Colonial Maine, 1602-1658* (Portland, 1914), 185-188, 379. This patent cost the Pilgrims £40; they sold the land in 1661 for £400 to a group of proprietors whose heirs incorporated it as the Kennebec Purchase in 1753. Robert H. Gardiner relates the history of this propriety in *Maine Hist. Coll.* (1847), II. 269-294.

7. WARWICK PATENT to William Bradford, 13 January 1629/30, from the Council for New England. Original in Registry of Deeds, Plymouth. Text in Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical Collections* (1792), I. 298-303; *Laws of New Plymouth* (Brigham ed.), 21-28; *Documentary History of Maine*, VII. 108-116. References: Andrews, I. 356-359; *Lectures Lowell Institute*, 156-157. Bradford, curiously enough, refers to this patent only incidentally, although it was by far the most important one that the colony received, describing its boundaries and replacing the Second Peirce Patent of 1621. The so-called surrender of this Warwick Patent by Bradford and the "Old Comers," dated 2 March 1640/41, is printed in Bradford, *Plymouth*, 428-430; 1912 ed., II. 282-288; and *Plymouth Colony Records*, II. 10. The surrender did not invalidate the patent. It was a free gift of Bradford and those he had chosen to associate with him, to the body politic.

The Peirce Patent

THIS Indenture made the First Day of June 1621 And in the yeeres of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord James by the grace of god King of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith etc. That is to say of England Fraunce and Ireland the Nyneteenth and of Scotland the fowre and fiftith. Betwene the President and Counsell of New England of the one partie And John Peirce Citizen and Clothworker of London and his Associates of the other partie Witnesseth that whereas the said John Peirce and his Associates have already transported and un-

dertaken to transporte at their cost and chardges themselves and dyvers persons into New England and there to erect and build a Towne and settle dyvers Inhabitantes for the advancem[en]t of the generall plantacion of that Country of New England Now the sayde President and Counsell in consideracion thereof and for the furtherance of the said plantacion and incoragem[en]t of the said Undertakers have agreed to graunt assign allot and appoynt to the said John Peirce and his Associates and every of them his and their heires and assignes one hundred acres of grownd for every person so to be transported besides dyvers other pryviledges Liberties and commodyties hereafter mencioned. And to that intent they have graunted allotted assigned and confirmed, And by theis pre[sen]tes doe graunt allott assign and confirme unto the said John Peirce and his Associates his and their heires and assignes and the heires and assignes of every of them severally and respectyvelie one hundred severall acres of grownd in New England for every person so transported or to be transported, Yf the said John Peirce or his Associates contynue there three whole yeeres either at one or severall tymes or dye in the meane season after he or they are shipped with intent there to inhabit. The same Land to be taken and chosen by them their deputies or assignes in any place or places whersoever not already inhabited by any English and where no English person or persons are already placed or settled or have by order of the said President and Councell made choyce of, nor within Tenne myles of the same, unles it be the opposite syde of some great or Navigable Ryver to the former particuler plantacion, together with the one half of the Ryver or Ryvers, that is to say to the middest thereof as shall adjoyne to such landes as they shall make choyce of together with all such Liberties pryviledges proffittes and commodyties as the said Land and Ryvers which they shall make choyce of shall yeild together with free libertie to fishe in and upon the Coast of New England and in all havens portes and creekes Thereunto belonging and that no person or persons whatsoever shall take any benefitt or libertie of or to any of the grownds or the one half of the Ryvers aforesaid, excepting the free use of highwayes by land and Navigable Ryvers, but that the said undertakers and planters their heires and assignes shall have the sole right and use of the said grownds and the one half of the said Ryvers with all their proffittes and appurtennces. And forasmuch as the said John Peirce and his associates intend and have undertaken to build Churches, Schooles, Hospitalls Towne howses, Bridges and such like works of Charytie As also for the maynteyning of Magistrates and other inferior Officers, In regard whereof and to the end that the said John Peirce and his Associates his and

their heires and assignes may have wherewithall to beare and support such like charges. Therefore the said President and Councell aforesaid do graunt unto the said Undertakers their heires and assignes Fifteene hundred acres of Land more over and above the aforesaid proporcion of one hundred the person for every undertaker and Planter to be ymployed upon such publique uses as the said Undertakers and Planters shall thinck fitt. And they do further graunt unto the said John Peirce and his Associates their heires and assignes, that for every person that they or any of them shall transport at their owne proper costes and charges into New England either unto the Lands hereby graunted or adjoyninge to them within Seaven Yeeres after the feast of St. John Baptist next comming Yf the said person transported contynue there three whole yeeres either at one or severall tymes or dye in the meane season after he is shipped with intent there to inhabit that the said person or persons that shall so at his or their own charges transport any other shall have graunted and allowed to him and them and his and their heirs respectyvelie for every person so transported or dyeing after he is shipped one hundred acres of Land, and also that every person or persons who by contract and agream[en]t to be had and made with the said Undertakers shall at his and their owne charge transport him and themselves or any other and setle and plant themselves in New England within the said Seaven Yeeres for three yeeres space as aforesaid or dye in the meant tyme shall have graunted and allowed to every person so transporting or transported and their heires and assignes respectyvely the like number of one hundred acres of Land as aforesaid the same to be by him and them or their heires and assignes chosen in any entyre place together and adjoyning to the aforesaid Landes and not straglingly not before the tyme of such choyce made possessed or inhabited by any English Company or within tenne myles of the same (except it be on the opposite side of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid Yeilding and paying unto the said President and Counsell for every hundred acres so obteyned and possessed by the said John Peirce and his said Associates and by those said other persons and their heires and assignes who by Contract as aforesaid shall at their own charges transport themselves or others the Yerely rent of Two shillinges at the feast of St. Michaell Tharchaungell to the hand of the Rentgatherer of the said President and Counsell and their successors forever, the first paym[en]t to begyn after the expiracion of the first seaven Yeeres next after the date hereof. And further it shalbe lawfull to and for the said John Peirce and his Associates and such as contract with them as aforesaid their Tenantes and servantes upon dislike of or in the Country to return for Eng-

land or elsewhere with all their goodes and chattells at their will and pleasure without lett or disturbaunce of any paying all debtes that justly shalbe demaunded And likewise it shalbe lawfull and is graunted to and for the said John Peirce and his Associates and Planters their heires and assignes their Tennantes and servantes and such as they or any of them shall contract with as aforesaid and send and ymploy for the said plantation to goe and return trade traffique import or transport their goodes and merchaundize at their will and pleasure into England or elsewhere paying onely such dueties to the Kinges ma[jes]tie his heires and successors as the President and Counsell of New England doe pay without any other taxes Imposicions burthens or restraints whatsoever upon them to be ymposed (the rent hereby reserved being onely excepted) And it shalbe lawfull for the said Undertakers and Planters, their heires and successors freely to truck trade and traffique with the Salvages in New England or neighboring thereaboutes at their wills and pleasures without lett or disturbaunce. As also to have libertie to hunt hauke fish or fowle in any place or places not now or hereafter by the English inhabited. And the said President and Counsell do covenant and promyse to and with the said John Peirce and his Associates and others contracted with as aforesaid his and their heires and assignes, That upon lawfull survey to be had and made at the charge of the said Undertakers and Planters and lawfull informaçon geven of the bowndes, meetes, and quantytie of Land so as aforesaid to be by them chosen and possessed they the said President and Counsell upon surrender of this p[re]sente graunt and Indenture and upon reasonable request to be made by the said Undertakers and Planters their heires and assignes within seaven Yeeres now next coming, shall and will by their Deede Indented and under their Common seale graunt infeoffe and confirme all and every the said landes so sett out and bownded as aforesaid to the said John Peirce and his Associates and such as contract with them their heires and assignes in as large and beneficiall manner as the same are in theis p[re]sentes graunted or intended to be graunted to all intentes and purposes with all and every particuler pryviledge and freedome reservacion and condicion with all dependances herein specified and graunted. And shall also at any tyme within the said terme of Seaven Yeeres upon request unto the said President and Counsell made, graunt unto them the said John Peirce and his Associates Undertakers and Planters their heires and assignes, Letters and Grauntes of Incorporacion by some usuall and fitt name and tytle with Liberty to them and their successors from tyme to tyme to make orders Lawes Ordynaunces and Constitucions for the rule government ordering and dyrecting of

all persons to be transported and settled upon the landes hereby graunted, intended to be graunted or hereafter to be granted and of the said Landes and proffittes thereby arrysing. And in the meane tyme untill such graunt made, Yt shalbe lawfull for the said John Peirce his Associates Undertakers and Planters their heires and assignes by consent of the greater part of them to establish such Lawes and ordynaunces as are for their better governem[en]t, and the same by such Officer or Officers as they shall by most voyces elect and choose to put in execucion; And lastly the said President and Counsell do graunt and agree to and with the said John Peirce and his Associates and others contracted with and ymployed as aforesaid their heires and assignes, That when they have planted the Landes hereby to them assigned and appoynted, That then it shalbe lawfull for them with the pryvitie and allowaunce of the President and Counsell as aforesaid to make choyce of and to enter into and to have an addition of fiftie acres more for every person transported into New England with like reservacions condicions and pryviledges as are above granted to be had and chosen in such place or places where no English shalbe then settled or inhabiting or have made choyce of and the same entered into a book of Actes at the tyme of such choyce so to be made or within tenne Myles of the same, (excepting on the opposite side of some great Navigable Ryver as aforesaid. And that it shall and may be lawfull for the said John Peirce and his Associates their heires and assignes from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter for their severall defence and savetie to encounter expulse repell and resist by force of Armes aswell by Sea as by Land and by all wayes and meanes whatsoever all such person and persons as without the especiall lycense of the said President or Counsell and their successors or the greater part of them shall attempt to inhabit within the severall presinctes and lymmyttes of their said Plantacion, Or shall enterpryse or attempt at any tyme hereafter distruccion, Invation, detryment or annoyaunce to the said Plantacion. And the said John Peirce and his associates and their heires and assignes do covennant and promyse to and with the said President and Counsell and their successors, That they the said John Peirce and his Associates from tyme to tyme during the said Seaven Yeeres shall make a true Certificat to the said President and Counsell and their successors from the chief Officers of the places respectyvely of every person transported and landed in New England or shipped as aforesaid to be entered by the Secretary of the said President and Counsell into a Register book for that purpose to be kept And the said John Peirce and his Associates Jointly and severally for them their heires and assignes do covennant promyse and graunt to and with the said President

and Counsell and their successors That the persons transported to this their particuler Plantacion shall apply themselves and their Labors in a large and competent manner to the planting setting making and procuring of good and staple commodityes in and upon the said Land hereby graunted unto them as Corne and silkgrasse hemp flaxe pitch and tarre sopeashes and potashes Yron Clapbord and other the like materialls. In witnes whereof the said President and Counsell have to the one part of this p[rese]nte Indenture sett their seales¹ And to th'other part hereof the said John Peirce in the name of himself and his said Associates have sett to his seale geven the day and yeeres first above written.

LENOX HAMILTON WARWICK SHEFFIELD FERD: GORGES

On the *Verso* of the instrument is the following indorsement:—
Sealed and Delivered by my Lord Duke in the presence of

EDWARD COLLINGWOOD, *Clerke*.

[This typescript made from printed copy in Ford ed. Bradford, I. 246–251, collated with the facsimile therein by Antha E. Card.]

Patent for Cape Anne¹

THIS Indenture made the First day of January Anno Domini 1623, And in the Yeares of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord JAMES by the grace of God King of England France and Ireland Defender of the faith etc. the One and Twentieth And of Scotland the Seaven and Fyftyth Betweene the right honorable Edmond Lord Sheffield Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter on thone part And Robert Cushman and Edward Winslowe for them selves, and their Associates and Planters at Plymouth in New England in America on thother part. Wytnesseth that the said Lord Sheffield (As well in consideracon that the said Robert and Edward and divers of their Associates have already adventured them selves in person, and have likewise at their own proper Costes and Charges transported dyvers persons into New England aforesaid And for that the said Robert and Edward and their Associates also intend as well to trans-

¹ This word looks a little like *seale*, with a punctuation mark following it. The sense would seem to require the plural; there were originally six seals affixed to the instrument. C. D[EANE]. Under each signature was originally a strip of parchment and a seal, of which four are still attached to the document. The sixth signature has been torn from the film. This Patent was first printed by Deane in 4 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, II. 156–163.

¹ This typescript made from Ford ed. Bradford, I. 407–410. Collated with facsimile in same by Antha E. Card.

port more persons as also further to plant at Plymouth aforesaid, and in other places in New England aforesaid As for the better Advancement and furtherance of the said Planters, and encouragement of the said Undertakers) Hath Gyven, graunted, assigned, allotted, and appointed And by these p[rese]nts doth Gyve, graunt, assigne, allott, and appoint unto and for the said Robert and Edward and their Associates As well a certaine Tract of Ground in New England aforesaid lying in Forty-three Degrees or thereabout of Northerly latitude and in a knowne place there commonly called Cape Anne, Together with the free use and benefitt as well of the Bay comonly called the Bay of Cape Anne, as also of the Islands within the said Bay And free liberty, to Fish, fowle, hawke, and hunt, truck, and trade in the Lands thereabout, and in all other places in New England aforesaid; whereof the said Lord Sheffield is, or hath byn possessed, or which have byn allotted to him the said Lord Sheffield, or within his Jurisdiccon (not now being inhabited, or hereafter to be inhabited by any English) Together also with Fyve hundred Acres of free Land adjoyning to the said Bay to be ymployed for publique uses, as for the building of a Towne, Scholes, Churches, Hospitalls, and for the mayntenance of such Ministers, Officers, and Magistrates, as by the said undertakers, and their Associates are there already appointed, or which hereafter shall (with their good liking,) reside, and inhabitt there And also Thirty Acres of Land, over and besides the Fyve hundred Acres of Land, before menconed To be allotted, and appointed for every perticuler person, Young, or old (being the Associates, or servantes of the said undertakers or their successors) that shall come, and dwell at the aforesaid Cape Anne within Seaven yeares next after the Date hereof, which Thirty Acres of Lande soe appointed to every person as aforesaid, shall be taken as the same doth lye together upon the said Bay in one entire place, and not stragling in dyvers, or remote parcelles not exceeding an English Mile, and a halfe in length on the Waters side of the said Bay Yeldyng and Paying forever yearely unto the said Lord Sheffield, his heires, successors Rent gatherer, or assignes for every Thirty Acres soe to be obteyned, and possessed by the said Robert and Edward their heires, successors, or Associates Twelve Pence of lawfull English money At the Feast of St. Michaell Tharchaungell only (if it be lawfully demaunded) The first payment thereof To begynne ymediately from and after thend and expiracon of the first Seaven yeares next after the date hereof And the said Lord Sheffield for himself his heires, successors, and assignes doth Covenant, promise, and graunt to and with the said Robert Cushman, and Edward Winslow their heires, associates, and assignes That they

the said Robert, and Edward, and such other persons as shall plant, and contract with them, shall freely and quietly, have, hold, possesse, and enjoy All such profitts, rights, previlidges, benefittes, Comodities, advantages, and preheminences, as shall hereafter by the labor, search, and diligence of the said Undertakers their Associates, servantes, or Assignes be obteyned, found out, or made within the said Tract of Ground soe graunted unto them as aforesaid; Reserving unto the said Lord Sheffeld his heires, successors, and assignes The one Moyety of all such Mynes as shall be discovered, or found out at any tyme by the said Undertakers, or any their heires, successors, or assignes upon the Groundes aforesaid And further That it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Robert Cushman, and Edward Winslowe their heires, associates, and assignes from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter soe soone as they or their Assignes have taken possession, or entered into any of the said Landes To forbyd, repell, repulse and resist by force of Armes All and every such persons as shall build, plant, or inhabitt, or which shall offer, or make shew to build, plant, or inhabitt within the Landes soe as aforesaid graunted, without the leave, and licence of the said Robert, and Edward or their assignes And the sayd Lord Sheffeld doth further Covenant, and graunt That upon a lawfull survey hadd, and taken of the aforesaid Landes, and good informacon gyven to the said Lord Sheffeld his heires, or assignes, of the Meates, Boundes, and quantity of Landes which the said Robert, and Edward their heires, associates or assignes shall take in and be by them their Associates, Servantes, or assigns inhabited as aforesaid; he the said Lord Sheffeld his heires, or assignes, at and upon the reasonable request of the said Undertakers, or their Associates, shall and will by good and sufficient Assurance in the Lawe Graunt, enfeoffe, confirm and allott unto the said Robert Cushman and Edward Winslowe their Associates, and Assignes All and every the said Landes soe to be taken in within the space of Seaven yeares next after the Date hereof in as larg, ample, and beneficiall manner, as the said Lord Sheffeld his heires, or assignes nowe have, or hereafter shall have the same Landes, or any of them graunted unto him, or them; for such rent, and under such Covenantes, and Provisoos as herein are conteyned (*mutatis mutandis*) And shall and will also at all tymes hereafter upon reasonable request made to him the said Lord Sheffeld his heires, or assignes by the said Edward and Robert their heires, associates, or assignes, or any of them graunt, procure, and make good, lawfull, and sufficient Letters, or other Grauntes of Incorporacon whereby the said Undertakers, and their Associates shall have liberty and lawfull authority from tyme to tyme to make and establish

Lawes, Ordynnces, and Constitucons for the ruling, ordering, and governing of such persons as nowe are resident, or which hereafter shalbe planted, and inhabitt there And in the meane tyme untill such Graunt be made It shalbe lawfull for the said Robert, and Edward their heires, associates and Assignes by consent of the greater part of them to Establish such Lawes, Provisions and Ordynnces as are or shalbe by them thought most fitt, and convenient for the governement of the said plantacon which shall be from tyme to tyme executed, and administered by such Officer, or Officers, as the said Undertakers, or their Associates or the most part of them shall elect, and make choice of Provyded allwaies That the said Lawes, Provisions, and Ordynnces which are, or shall be agreed on, be not repugnant to the Lawes of England, or to the Orders, and Constitucons of the President and Councell of New England Provyded further That the said Undertakers their heires, and successors shall forever acknowledg the said Lord Sheffeld his heires and successors, to be their Chiefe Lord, and to answeare and doe service unto his Lordshipp or his Successors, at his, or their Court when upon his, or their owne Plantacon The same shalbe established, and kept In wytnes whereof the said parties to these present Indentures Interchaungeably have putt their Handes and Seales The day and yeares first above written.

E. SHEFFEYLD.²

Seal *pendent*.

The Warwick Patent

13/23 January 1629/30

UNFORTUNATELY we cannot reproduce this from the original document. It is still preserved, under glass, in the Registry of Deeds at Plymouth; but the ink is so faded that parts of it can no longer be deciphered without infra-red light and other apparatus; and the present Registrar of Deeds for Plymouth County will not allow it to be removed from the frame, or from his office, for photography and collation.

There is, however, in the Massachusetts State Archives,¹ in an early eighteenth-century hand, a copy of a copy of the Warwick Patent, attested as correct by Thomas Hinckley, Governor of Plymouth Colony 1681–1686, and 1689–1692. It was probably made to use in the eighteenth cen-

² On the back of the parchment is the following attestation: "Sealed and del'd in the presence of John Bulmer, Tho: Belweeld, John Fowler."

¹ Vol. LXXXVII. ff. 123–129.

ture boundary controversy with Rhode Island. This copy of the Hinckley copy was the basis of the text printed by the Maine Historical Society in 1901 in *The Documentary History of the State of Maine*.² We have compared this Maine printed text with the less illegible parts of the original document, and found it to be substantially accurate, the only differences noted being those of spelling and punctuation. The following text has been made by comparing the Maine printed version with the copy of the Hinckley-attested manuscript in the Massachusetts Archives.

To all to Whom these presents shall come GREETING; Whereas Our Late Souveraign Lord King James for advancement of a Collony & Plantation in the Country Called or Known by the Name of New England in America By his Highnes Letters Pattents under the great Seale of England bearing Date att Westminster, the Third Day of November in the Eighteenth yeare of his Highnesses Reigne of England etc., Did give grant & Confirme unto the Right honourable Lodwick late Lord Duke of Lenox George late Lord Marques of Buckingham James Marques Hamilton Thomas Earle of Arundell Robert Earle of Warwick Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight and divers others whose names are Expressed in the said Letters Pattents and their Successors that they should be one Body Politique and Corporate Perpetuall Consisting of forty persons, & that they should have perpetuall Succession and One Common Seale to Serve for the said body And that they and their Successors should be Incorporated Called and Knowne by the name of the Councill Established att Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting Ruling ordering and governing of New England in America, AND further alsoe of his Speciall Grace Certaine Knowledge and meere motion did give grant and Confirme unto the said President and Councell, and their Successors for Ever, under the Reservations Limitations and Declarations in the said Letters Patents Expressed All that part and portion of the said Country now Called New England in America, Scituate Lyeing and being In breath from forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equenocstiall Line to Forty eight Degrees of the saide Northerly Latitude Inclusively, and in Length of and in all the Breadth aforesaide throughout the maine Land from Sea to Sea together also with all the firme Lands Soyles Grounds Creeks Inlitts Havens Ports Seas Rivers Islands Waters Fishings Mines and Mineralls as well Royall Mines of Gold and Silver as other Mines and Mineralls. Pretious Stones quarries and all and Singular the Commodities Jurisdiccions Royalties Priviledges Franchises & Preheminences both within the

² 2nd Series VII (also called The Farnham Papers, 1) pp. 109-125.

said Tracts of Land upon the Maine as also within the said Islands adjoining, To HAVE HOLD possess and Injoy; all and Singuler the aforesaid Continent Lands Territorys Islands Hereditaments and Precincts Sea water Fishing with all and all manner their Commodities Royalties Priviledges Prehemenences and Proffitts that shall or may arise from thence with all and Singular their appurtenances and Every part and percell thereof unto the said Councill and their Successors and Assignes for Ever To be holden of his Majesties his heires and Successors as of his Manner [*sic*] of East Greenwich In the County of Kent In Free & Common Soccage & not in Capite nor by Knight Service. Yeilding and payeing therefore unto the late Kings Majestie his heires & successors a Fifth part of the Oare of Gold and Silver which from time to time and att all times from the Date of the said Letters Pattents Shall be there gotten had and Obtained for and in Respect of all and all manner of Dutyes Demands and Services Whatsoever to be Done³ and paid unto his said Late Majestie his heires and Successors as in and by the said Letters Pattents amongst Sundry other Priviledges and matters therein Contained more fully and att Large it doth and may appeare Now KNOW YEE that the said Councill by Virtue and Authority of his said Majesties Letters Pattents & for and in Consideration that William Bradford and his Associates have for these nine yeares lived in New England aforesaid and have there Inhabited and planted a Towne Called by the Name of New Plymouth at their Owne proper Costs and Charge and now Seeing that by the Speciall Providence of God and their Extraordinary Care and Industry they have incressed their Plantation to neere three hundred People and are upon all Occasion able to releive any new Planters or other his Majesties Subjects who may fall upon that Coaste HAVE GIVEN granted Bargained and Sold Enfeoffed allotted assigned and sett Over and by these presents Doe Clearly and absolutely Give grant Bargaine Sell Allien in Fee of alott Assign And Confirme unto the said Wm. Bradford his heires associates & assignes all that part of New England in America aforesaid and Tract and Tracts of Land that Lyes within or betweene a Certaine Revolett or Runlett there commonly called Cohasett alias Conahasett towards the North and the River Commonly Called Narragansett River towards the South, and the great Western Ocean towards the East, and betweene, and within a Streight Line directly Extending up Into the Maine Land towards the west from the mouth of the said River called Narragansett River to the uttmost bounds of a Country or place in New England Commonly called Poconockett alias Sawnonsett; Westward and an other

³ This is followed by "made" in the original.

Streight line Extending it self Directly from the Mouth of the said River Called Cohasett alias Conahasett towards the West So farr up into the Maine Land Westwards as the Utmost Limitts of the said place or Country Commonly called Poconockett alias Sawamsett Do Extend together with one half of the said River called Narragansett River and the said Revolett or Runlett called Cohasett alias Conahasett and all Lands Rivers waters havens Ports Crecks Fishings fowlings and all hereditaments Proffitts Commodities and Imoluments Whatsoever Scituate Lyeing and being or ariseing within or betweene the said Limitts or bounds or any of them and for as much as they have no Convenient Place either of Trade or of Fishing within their Owne precincts whereby after Soe Long travell and great paines so hopefull a plantation may subsist, as also that they may be encouraged the better to proceed in soe pious a worke which may Especially tend to the propagation of Religion, and the great Increase of Trade to his Majesties Realms, and advancement of the publick Plantation, the said Councill hath further Given granted Bargained sold Enfeofed a Lotted and Sett over and by these presents doe Clearly and absolutely give grant bargain Sell Alien Inffeofoe a Lott assigne and Confirme unto the said Wm. Bradford his heirs associates and assignes all that Tract of Land or part of New England in America aforesaid which lyeth within or betweene and Extendeth it self from the utmost of Cobestcont alias Comasecont Which adjoyneth to the River Kenibeck alias Kenebeckick towards the Westernne Ocean and a place called the falls of Nequamkick in America aforesaid and the Space of Fifteen English milles on Each Side of the said River Commonly called Kenebeck River and all the said River Called Kenebeck that Lyes within the said Limitts and Bounds Eastward Westward Northward and Southward Last afore mentioned, and all Lands Grounds Soyles Rivers Waters Fishing hereditaments and proffitts whatsoever Scituate Lying and being arising hapening and Accrueing or which shall arise hapen or Accrue in and within the said Limitts and bounds or either of them together with free Ingress Egress, & regress with Shippes Boats Shallops and other Vessels from the Sea Commonly Called the Westernne Ocean to the said River called Kenebeck and from the River to the said Westernne Ocean together with all prerogatives Rights Royalties Jurisdictions Priviledges Franchies Libertyes and Emunities; and also Marine Lyberty with the Escheats and Causalities thereof (the Admiralty Jurisdiction Excepted) with all the Interests Rights titles Clame and Demand whatsoever which the said Councill and their Successors now have or ought to have and clayme and may have and acquire hereafter in or to any the said Portions or Tracts of Lands hereby mentioned to be granted or any the preheminences, In as free Large Ample & benefitiall manner to

all Intents and purposes Whatsoever, as the Said Councill by virtue of his Majesties Letters pattents may or can grant To HAVE AND to hold the said Tract and tracts of Land and all and Singuler the premisses above mentioned, to be granted with their & every of their appurtenances to the said Wm. Bradford his heires associates and assignes for ever to the Onely proper and absolute use and behoofe of the said Wm. Bradford his heires Associates and assignes for Ever, Yeilding and payeing unto Our said late Sovereigne Lord the King his heires and Successors for Ever One fifth part of the Oare of the mines of Gold and Silver, and one other fifth part thereof to the president and Councill, which shall be had possest and obtained within the precincts aforesaid for all Services & demands Whatsoever And the said Councill Do further Grant And agree to and With the said Wm. Bradford his heires associates and assignes and Every of them his and their Factors Agents Tenants and Servants and all such as he or they shall send or Imploy about his said perticular Plantation Shall and may from time to time freely and Lawfully Trade and trafique as well with the English as any of the Natives within the precincts aforesaid with Liberty of Fishing upon any Part of the Sea Coasts and Sea Shores of any of the Seas or Islands ajacent & not being Inhabited or otherwise disposed by order of the said president and Councill, & also to Import Export and transport their Cattle and Merchandize att their Will & pleasure payeing Onely such Duty to the Kings Majestie his heires & Successors as the said president and Councill doe or ought to pay, without any other taxes Impositions Burdens or Restictions [*sic*] upon them, to be Impassed, And further the said Councill doe grant and agree, to & with the said Wm. Bradford his heires Associates and Assignes, that the Persons Transported by him or any of them shall not be taken away Employed or Commanded Either by the Governour for the time being of New England or by any other Authority there from the Bussiness and Employements of the said Wm. Bradford and his Associates his heires and assignes; Nessasary defence of the Country Preservation of peace Supresseing of tumults with in the Land, Tryalls in matters of Justice by appeall upon a speciall Occassion onely Excepted, also it shall be Lawfull and free for the said Wm Bradford his associates heires and assignes att all times hereafter, to Incorporate By some usuall and fitt name and title him & themselves or the people there Inhabiting under him or them, with Liberty to them and their Successors from time to time to frame and make Orders Ordinances and Constitutions as well as for the better government of their affaires here and the Receiveing or Admitting any to his or their Society, as Also for the better Government of his or their People and affaires in New England or of his and their people att Sea in goeing thether or Returning from

thence and the Same to be put in Execussion or Caused to be put in Execution by such Officers and Ministers as he and they shall Authorize and Depute Provided the said Laws and Orders be not repugnant to the Lawes of England or the forme of Government by the President and Councill hereafter to be Established; And further itt shall be Lawfull and free for the said Wm Bradford his heires Associates and Assignes to Transport Cattle of all Kinds also powder Shott Ordinances and amunition from time to time as shall be necessary for their Strength and Safty hereafter; for their severall Deffences and safty to Encounter Expulse repell and resist by force of Arms as well by Sea as by Land by all Wayes and means whatsoever, And by Virtue of Authority to us derived by his Late Majesties Letters Pattents To take apprehend Seize and make prise; of all such persons their shippes and goods as shall attempt to Inhabit and trade with the Salvages people of that Country within the severall precincts and Limitts of his and their Severall plantacions or shall Interprise or attempt att any time destruction Invaision detrement or anoyance, to his or their plantations the one moyety of which goods so seized or taken it shall be Lawfull for the said Wm Bradford his heires Associates and assignes to take to their Owne use and behoofe and the other moyetie thereof to be Delivered by the said Wm Bradford his heires Associates and assignes to such Officers as shall be appointed to receive the same for his Majesties use And the said Councill doe hereby Covenant and Declare that it is their Intent and meaning for the good of the plantations that the said Wm Bradford his heires Associates his or their heires and assignes shall have and Injoy whatsoever priviledge or priviledges of What Kind so Ever as are Expressed or intended to be Granted in and by his said Late Majesties Letters Pattents and that In as Large and ample manner as the said Councill thereby now may or hereafter Can grant (Coyning of money Excepted) and the said Councill for them and their Successors Do Covenant and grant to & with the said Wm Bradford his heires Associates and assignes by these presents that they the said Councill shall att any time hereafter upon Request, att the onely proper Charge and Costs of the said Wm Bradford his heires associates and assignes Do make Suffer Execute and Willingly Consent unto any other Act or Acts Conveyances assurance or assurances, whatsoever; for the good and perfect Investing assureing and Conveyeing and sure makeing of all the aforesaid Tract or Tracts of Lands Royalties mines and Mineralls Woods Fishings and all & singular their appurtenances unto the said Wm. Bradford his heires associates and assignes as by him or them or his or their heirs And Assignes or his or their Councill Learned in the Law shall be devised advised or required and Lastly KNOW YE that wee the Councill have made Constituted and Deputed au-

thorized and appointed, Captain Miles Standish or in his absence Edward Winslow, John Howland and John Alden or any of them to be Our true and Lawfull Attorney & Attornys Joyntly & Severaly in Our Name and Steed to enter into the said Tract or Tracts of Land and their premisses with their appurtenances or into Some part thereof in the name of the Whole for Us and in Our name to take poss[ess]ion and Seizen thereof and after such poss[ess]ion & Seizen thereof or some part thereof in the Name of the Whole, had and taken there for Us and in Our Names to deliver the full and peaceable possession and Seizen of all & Singular the said mentioned to be granted premisses unto the said Wm. Bradford his heires associates and assignes or to his or their Certaine attorney in that behalf Ratifieing allowing Confirming all whatsoever Our said attorney shall doe in or about the premisses IN WITNESS Whereof the Councill Established att Plymouth in the County of Devon for the Planting ruling Ordering and Governing of New England In America have hereunto put their hand and Seale this thirteenth Day of January in the fifth yeare of the Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lord Charles by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France & Ireland &c Deffender of the faith &c Anno Domini 1629./

ROBERT WARWICK [Seal]

The within named John Alden Authorized as attorney for the within mentioned Councill haveing in their name and Steed Entred into some part of the within mentionned tract of Land and others the premises in the name of the whole and for them and in their names taken possession Seizen thereof and did in the name of the President and Councill Deliver the full and peaceable possession and Seizen of all and singular the within mentioned to be granted premisses unto Wm Bradford for him his heires associates and assignes

Secundum Forma [*obliterated*]

In presence of

JAMES CONDWORTH

WILLIAM CLARKE

NATHANIEL MORTON, *Secretary*

Vera Copia Compared with the Originall

Ita attest.

THO: HINCKLEY,

Governour

Mr. DOUGLAS EDWARD LEACH read a paper entitled:

The Question of French Involvement in King Philip's War

FOR many years historians and antiquarians have told and retold the story of the relations between Indians and English settlers in early New England which produced the bitter and decisive struggle called King Philip's War. The available documents and records have been sifted again and again until it seems that every possible fact about the subject must now certainly be known. All authorities are agreed that the Indian uprising of 1675-1676 dealt a shocking blow to the young colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Whole towns were wiped out, and the frontier of English settlement was pushed many miles back toward the coast. The relatively small English population in the area suffered very heavy casualties as well as tremendous damage to homes and property, and the people were taxed almost to the breaking point in order to sustain the war effort.

Despite all the hundreds upon hundreds of pages which have been written about King Philip's War, one question, at least, still awaits a definitive answer. Briefly stated, that question is this: In the years preceding King Philip's War and during the period of the war itself, what relationship existed between the French of Canada and the Indian tribes of New England? In other words, can the French be convicted of having given encouragement and support to the Indians in their resistance against the advance of English civilization? Were the French actually instigators of the Indian uprising, and allies of Philip, or were they free of any involvement in this particular conflict? Here is an historical mystery to evoke the detective instinct in all of us.

Actually, we are confronted not by just a single question, but by three. Firstly, what sort of relationship existed between the French and the Algonkins in the years prior to King Philip's War? Next, did the French persuade the Indians to attack the English in 1675? Finally, to what extent did the French assist the Indians with arms, supplies, and advice during the course of the war?

The background of the problem can be sketched in very rapidly. By 1675 both the English and the French had established mainland colonies in the New World, the French being settled along the banks of the St.

Lawrence River, and the English along the Atlantic coast from New England to Carolina. In the area of present-day New England and New York were found various tribes of Indians representing a relatively primitive civilization which was fighting for its life against the advance of aggressive European cultures. Actually, the Indians themselves were unable to present a united front against the white men, for the great Iroquois Confederacy of upper New York was traditionally hostile to the Algonkian tribes of New England. Thus the fierce and warlike Mohawks were an ever-present scourge to the Mohegan, Nipmuck, Narragansett, and Wampanoag tribes which occupied territory in southern New England. Moreover, the chasm of enmity which separated various Indian groups was duplicated in the growing rivalry between the English and the French settlements. Quite naturally, the Indians took advantage of this fundamental division, while the white men were equally ready to play upon the old hostility which separated the Iroquois tribes from the Algonkins. The pivotal group was always the Iroquois Confederacy of the Five Nations, which hated the French, and coöperated with the English. In turn, the hostility which characterized relations between the French and the Iroquois tended to foster a natural sympathy between the French and the Algonkian tribes of southern New England, who were suffering greatly from Iroquois pressure against their territory. Out of this background came the terrible Indian war of 1675-1676.

The conflict traditionally bears the name of its instigator and chief leader, King Philip of the Wampanoags, but once started, the war quickly spread like a prairie fire and, in a sense, escaped from Philip's control. Before the issue was settled, the whole frontier of New England was ablaze, and a horribly large percentage of both Indians and white men had lost their lives as a result. All available evidence indicates that this was the most devastating war in New England's history.

To begin our consideration of the case, we have before us a possible motive for French support of the Indians during the period in question. If the English settlements in New England could be made completely unsafe for their inhabitants because of Indian hostility, if enough villages could be totally destroyed and enough planting fields rendered useless, then the English might have to abandon New England altogether or at least withdraw to the coast. Thereupon the French would be able to occupy the abandoned area, cement their already friendly relationship with the local Indians, and thus extend their control over much new territory. Once firmly entrenched in New England, the French would be able to

exploit more effectively a growing trade with the Indian tribes. This, then, is the probable motive in the case. What evidence can we find to support the charge?

For many years prior to 1675 the New England colonists believed that they saw increasing signs of French activity among the neighboring Indians. Rumors of French traders selling guns and ammunition to the natives, stories of malicious Jesuit missionaries going into the Indian villages with a message of death to the white Protestants, continued to sweep across New England during the prewar years. It became common opinion that the government at Quebec was deliberately trying to stir up the Indians against the English colonies. Unfortunately, the only evidence now available on this question is either hearsay or circumstantial. Much of it consists of the biased testimony of people who dreaded the advance of French power in North America, and saw a Jesuit priest under every Indian bed.

Roger Williams was one who became greatly alarmed by the increasing signs of an expanding French influence among the neighboring savages, and wrote that "the French and Romish Jesuits, the firebrands of the world for their god belly sake, are kindling at our back, in this country . . . against us, of which I know and have daily information."¹ Major John Mason, the aging hero of the Pequot War, was another prominent settler who became convinced that behind the recurring troubles with the local Indians lay a crafty French scheme for destroying the English colonies. On 18 March 1668/9 Mason informed Connecticut's Governor Winthrop of current rumors to the effect that vast sums of French wampum had recently been paid to neighboring Indians, and openly expressed his fear of a secret plot against the English.² The stories about French wampum continued to circulate during the next few months, and became more persistent as the suspicious behavior of the Niantic sachem Ninigret was brought to light. Out of this situation emerged the great war scare of 1669 which prompted Major Mason to restate his suspicion "that much French wampom hath an influence into these matters."³ Mason's reputation as an old Indian fighter and a prominent politician made his views all the more plausible in the eyes of many, and so his suspicions of the French at this time helped to increase the public apprehension, although Ninigret, like the old fox that he was, publicly and flatly asserted that he

¹ *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st ser., I. 275; *Narragansett Club Publications*, VI. 349.

² *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th ser., VII (Winthrop Papers), 426.

³ Connecticut Archives, Indians 1, Document 12.

didn't even know in what part of the world the Frenchmen lived.⁴ When prominent leaders such as Williams and Mason were openly suspecting a French plot, is it any wonder that the common people quickly caught the growing fever of apprehension?

Nevertheless, a few people in New England still remained unconvinced by the mass of circumstantial evidence even after the outbreak of actual warfare, and refused to believe that French intrigue had played any significant part in causing the conflict. One of these dissenters was Rev. William Hubbard, who could claim to be something of an authority on the day-by-day developments of the war. In support of his opinion Hubbard pointed out that France was certain to obtain greater benefit from a continued commerce with the New England colonies than from their destruction, and argued that Quebec was really too far from New England to develop much of a contact with the local Indians.⁵ But the small minority who agreed with William Hubbard was almost completely drowned out by the overwhelming voice of the majority. To most people in the English colonies the sinister rôle of French priests and traders was an unquestioned fact, and this rapidly solidifying opinion became enshrined in the popular history of the day. It was given official support on 25 August 1679 in a letter addressed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the royal government in England. With reference to the recent Indian war, the Commissioners testified that: "... we have ... just ground not only to fear, but, without the breach of the rules of charity, to conclude, that these malicious designs [*sic*], the Jesuits (those grand enemies to his majesty's crown, as well as to the protestant religion, by us professed) have had their influences in the contrivement thereof, and of the certainty thereof we have been credibly informed by both Indians and English, at home and abroad."⁶

Clearly, the evidence concerning French activity among the Indians of New England in the years preceding King Philip's War is at best indecisive, and the modern student of the period may be inclined to scoff at the idea of a prewar French plot. But with the actual outbreak of open Indian warfare in 1675 the worst suspicions of the English colonists seemed to be confirmed in dramatic fashion. Enemy Indians captured by the English

⁴ John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*, II. 267, 274-275.

⁵ William Hubbard, *The Present State of New-England* (London, 1677), Part II, 82-83.

⁶ *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st ser., v. 227; Connecticut Archives, Foreign Correspondence 1, Document 15; *Calendar State Papers, Colonial*, 1677-1680, 409.

forces frequently confessed that Philip and his followers were receiving material aid from Canada. These reports were given added color by widely circulated stories to the effect that the French woodsmen were on such good terms with the savages that they frequently married Indian women, and adopted the Indian way of life.⁷ Friendly Indians, sent out as spies by the English in the winter of 1675-1676, returned with a definite report concerning French involvement in the war. As recorded by eager English interrogators, their report on recent French activity included the following statement: "The Frenchmen, that went up from Boston to Norwuthick [Hadley], were with the Indians, and shewed them some letters, and burnt some papers there, and bid them they should not burn mills nor meeting-houses, for there God was worshipped; and told them that they would come by land, and assist them, and would have Connecticut river, and that ships would come from France and stop up the bay, to hinder English ships and soldiers coming."⁸ How much credence can be given to a report of this kind? The spies who brought back the information had received it from the lips of enemy Indians who, perhaps suspecting their mission, may have created a false report in the hope that it would reach the ears of the English. However, it seems more likely that Frenchmen actually had been with the enemy Indians, and probably had made extravagant promises of aid. But there is no indication that these enterprising Frenchmen spoke for the government at Quebec, or indeed did anything more than make their wild promises and predictions for the purpose of winning the good will and the trade of the local Indians.

On 25 February additional information was obtained from a young English settler who had recently been a prisoner among the enemy Indians. During his captivity this man was taken to a great meeting or rendezvous of the savages on the banks of the Hoosic River. At this place were gathered over two thousand Indian warriors, among whom were some five or six hundred French Indians with straws through their noses. The savages, proud of this great display of fighting strength, made the prisoner count the assembled multitude three separate times, in order to impress

⁷ *Calendar State Papers, Domestic*, 1675-1676, 435, 438; 1676-1677, 300; *Calendar State Papers, Colonial*, 1675-1676, 372-373; Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, Documents 199-201; F. L. Gay Transcripts, Plymouth Papers 1. In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁸ *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st ser., VI. 207; Connecticut Archives, War 1, Document 35c; Massachusetts Historical Society, Miscellaneous III. See also Increase Mather, *A Brief History of the War With the Indians in New-England* [London, 1676], Samuel C. Drake, ed. (Albany, 1862), 117; *Calendar State Papers, Colonial*, 1675-1676, 350.

him with their numbers. They freely boasted of their plans to destroy the towns along the Connecticut River and then to attack eastern Massachusetts and Boston itself. They claimed to be on very friendly terms with the French, who sent them supplies of ammunition from Canada.⁹ This story would seem to support the previous accounts of French involvement in the war, but here again the evidence is far from conclusive, because of its nature.

About a month later, still more corroboratory evidence was obtained from a white woman who had been held prisoner by the enemy for a short period of time. Again the Indians had talked freely, boasting that friendly Frenchmen had recently paid them a visit. The Indians told their captive that the French had urged them to kill as many of the English settlers as they could, but to spare the buildings, for the French intended to move in after the English had been forced to evacuate the country.¹ Certainly we must reject the idea that any such statement as this was made by a responsible French official. The administration at Quebec was far too intelligent to make such casual disclosures of future plans, even if it really did intend to carry out such a program as that reported by the enemy Indians. We can only conclude that irresponsible French traders were trying to encourage the Indians for selfish reasons, or that the savages themselves were inventing fantastic lies in an effort to discomfort the English.

One well-documented piece of evidence can not be ignored. This is the case of Quentin Stockwell, who was taken prisoner by hostile Indians in 1677. At the time of Stockwell's capture the English knew full well that the Indians who took part in the raid had means of close intercourse with the French. These Indians carried Stockwell far to the north towards Canada, where he finally came into the hands of the French, who treated him kindly. Stockwell was eventually released, and upon his return to New England was in a position to explain more clearly how the authorities at Quebec were able to maintain contact with some of the Algonkian groups.²

By the time the war was over in southern New England, the great tide

⁹ Connecticut Archives, War 1, Document 44; Franklin B. Hough, ed., *A Narrative of the Causes Which Led to Philip's Indian War*, etc. (Albany, 1858), 143-145; Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (New York, 1913), 88.

¹ Thomas Savage to the Council of Massachusetts, 28 March 1676, Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, Document 189.

² Samuel G. Drake, ed., *Tragedies of the Wilderness* (Boston, 1846), 60-68; *History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association*, II, 462-470; Massachusetts Archives, III, Document 330; Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, v, 162, 168.

of rumors and reports about French intrigue had thoroughly convinced the majority of the English colonists that the Jesuits and other emissaries from Quebec had played an important part in the uprising. This pattern of thought became solidified in the minds of many, so that the old charges against the French continued to be heard over and over again in the years following the war.³ It was said by some people that during the war Frenchmen dressed in Indian costume had been taken prisoner, and that a Jesuit priest had been a ringleader in the uprising. The French were even accused of having stirred up the Indians in remote Virginia.⁴ If there exists any real evidence to support these wild allegations, it has not yet been brought to the attention of modern historians.

The mere fact that in subsequent Indian wars such as King William's War and Queen Anne's War the French were definitely and undeniably involved, served to strengthen the prevalent opinion concerning their rôle in the earlier uprising of 1675. Men tended to project back into history the new developments of 1689 and 1704. Furthermore, the generations of writers who lived during the first century after Philip's death lacked the skeptical instinct of the modern seminar-trained student. Thus they were content to parrot the views expressed by their predecessors. For example, Cotton Mather in his strange and monstrous *Magnalia Christi Americana* flatly asserted that during the winter of 1675-1676 the French of Canada had indeed sent aid to New England's savage enemies.⁵ Many years later Samuel Niles in his history of the Indian wars unquestioningly repeated Mather's charge against the French in words which were borrowed directly from the *Magnalia*.⁶ And so the tradition persevered and grew.

From the time of Samuel Niles to the present day, little has been done to re-examine this question of whether French intrigue can justly be blamed for the horrors of King Philip's War. In the traditional view the well-authenticated facts of French participation in the Indian wars of the early eighteenth century seem to override any doubts which may be raised concerning French policy in 1675 and 1676. If we are ever to arrive at the truth in this matter we must close our minds to what happened after 1689, and concentrate only on the pertinent evidence related to King Philip's War.

As we have previously seen, the evidence so far brought to light is not

³ *Calendar State Papers, Colonial*, 1675-1676, 465-466; Shurtleff, *op. cit.*, v. 140-141; Connecticut Archives, War I, Document 126.

⁴ *Calendar State Papers, Colonial*, 1675-1676, 409.

⁵ *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 2nd ed. (Hartford, 1820), II. 493.

⁶ *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd ser., VI. 182-183.

only the product of bias, but is in itself inconclusive. We have no justification for saying that official French agents were busy among the New England Indians during the prewar years, urging them to attack the English settlements. There is still no proof for such a statement. We can say, however, that a very great weight of evidence seems to indicate that French traders were selling guns and ammunition to the Algonkian tribes even before 1675.

We have no present justification for assuming that either the home government in France or the colonial government at Quebec ever formulated a definite policy of assisting the savages to destroy New England in 1675 and 1676. France and England were technically at peace during these years, and Louis XIV was not yet ready to risk his international position on a small Indian war in faraway America. But in view of the accumulated testimony concerning French activity among the enemy Indians once the war had started, we may reasonably conclude that an ambitious administration at Quebec was beginning to see how the disaffected Algonkian tribes might possibly be used as a tool against the rival English empire. It is quite conceivable that the French authorities were not above sending agents to advise the warring savages, and to sell them supplies of guns and powder at reasonable rates. If so, then we are here dealing with the genesis of a policy which in all subsequent Indian wars down to 1759 brought flames and scalping knives to the frontiers of New England.

Mr. HENRY HORNBLLOWER, II, reported briefly on an examination of letters written from Plymouth between 1623 and 1625, now owned by Dr. Otto Fisher of Detroit, which for the most part confirm John Pory's description.



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